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AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY

VOL. VI, I.

WHOLE NO. 21.

I.—THE EPHEBIC INSCRIPTION OF C. I. G. 282, LEBAS, ATTIQUE 560, AND C. I. A. iii. 1079.

The inscription, of which a photograph, reproduced by the artotype process, is here presented, has already been published by Boeckh, C. I. G. 282, by Lebas, Attique 560, and by Dittenberger, C. I. A. iii. 1079. All these publications are from a copy made by Fourmont at Athens (*ex schedis Fourmonti*), but containing so many errors that the inscription has been thought worthy of republication in the present form. The stone has been in the possession of Columbia College, New York, for forty-five years at least. How it was acquired, or when, I have not succeeded in determining with certainty. Fourmont's copy may have been made before the stone was properly cleaned; certain it is that many of his errors are best accounted for on this supposition, inasmuch as the correct readings are now very plain upon the stone, and confirm in the main the conjectures of the editors.

The stone is of fine-grained marble, $13\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, $9\frac{1}{2}$ in width, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ thick on one side, $4\frac{1}{2}$ on the other. The inscribed portion is $10\frac{1}{2} \times 8$ inches. It is not written *στοιχῆδόν*. Not only do the lines vary somewhat in length, but the letters vary considerably in size, and the spaces also between the letters. With the exception of the heading and the last line, the complete lines have from 17 to 25 letters, averaging 22. The words of the same line are mostly separated by a distinct dot, or a cut, half the length of the ordinary letters. Only a few of these have been destroyed; in some places they were never cut.

The inscription is agonistic. A certain Philistion gained a victory in boxing at the games celebrated in honor of Germanicus,

and erected this stone, commemorating at the same time a number of his friends and fellow athletes.

Boeckh assigned the inscription to the time of Caracalla, 211-217 A. D., judging from the uncial form of the M, and the narrow-bodied θ which he found in Fourmont's copy, but which does not exist on the stone; and furthermore, from his belief that the Germanic games were founded by Caracalla. Meier, *Com. Epigr.* p. 80, followed Boeckh. Dittenberger (*De Ephebis Atticis*, 1863) proved the existence of these games in the time of Trajan, and the inscription of C. I. A. iii. 1096 carries them back to 112 A. D. It was conjectured by Boeckh that our inscription contained an allusion to the games, but, as will be seen below, it still remained till the present time for conjecture to give place to certainty. The possibility of determining the exact date of the inscription was secured to us by one of those strange chances which sometimes preserve the insignificant while the really important may pass into utter oblivion. When Phlegon of Tralles, a freedman of Hadrian, was gathering material for his *Book of Marvels*, he found and noted the statement that an androgynos was born at Antiochia ad Maeandrum, when Antipater was archon at Athens and M. Vinicius and T. Statilius Taurus Corvinus were consuls at Rome. The year of these consuls is known, A. D. 45, and by a comparison of our inscription with those of other periods it was settled by Neubauer (*Commentationes Epigraphicae*, pp. 144-5) that the archon Antipater on our stone must be the Antipater mentioned by Phlegon. It cannot belong to the age of Hadrian, because then the Ephebi are no longer called φίλοι, γοργοί, γνήσιοι: the distinction between Athenians and *peregrini* is accurately made; and the Athenian Ephebi are reckoned according to tribes: all of which usages are quite different in this and another inscription (C. I. A. iii. 1080) containing the same archon's name. The modes of expression are also different. On the other hand, the Antipater inscriptions do agree in all particulars with those of the Claudian age. To this conclusion of Neubauer's, Dittenberger now assents (C. I. A. iii. 1079; also Dumont, *L'Éphébie Attique*, II. p. 112), and the date may be regarded as fixed.

We will now proceed to point out the cases where the stone rectifies the transcript of Fourmont, and confirms or corrects the restorations of Boeckh (C. I. G.), and Dittenberger (C. I. A.)

Line 1. B. and D. print the heading ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ to the extreme right of the line, as if something was lost before it, and B. supplies

'Αγαθὴ τύχη *vel* θεοῖς, τύχη: D., Νίκη. This is corrected by a glance at the plate.

2. B. says, *Dele alterum* N; D. supplies ν(εωτέρου), from the similar inscription C. I. A. iii. 1080, where NE is written. As may be seen, a half-sized uncial E is plainly visible on the stone, within and above the opening of the N, as well as the division mark after it. Cf. C. I. A. iii. 1054, 1062.

4. The Π of ΠΑΙΔΟΤΡΙΒΟΥΝΤΟΣ is quite destroyed on the stone.—After TO B. places; D. supplies [γ'] from C. I. A. iii. 1080, which reads ΠΑΙΔΟΤΡΙΒΟΥΝΤΟΣ ΔΙΟΤΕΙΜΟΥ ΤΟ ΤΡΙΤΟΝ. The Γ is plainly cut on the stone, with the division mark before it.

5. ΔΙΟΤ . . ΙΜΟΥ, F.; Διοτ[ε]ίμου, B., D. The lower part of the E is marred, but more than half remains.

6. ΦΙΛΟΙ, F.; [φι]λοι, B., D. The rather prominent division mark before ΦΙΛΟΙ may have misled F.; but it is more likely that there was an unconscious transposition. ΦΙΛΟΙ is perfect on the stone.

9. ΔΗΜΗΤΡΟΣ, F.; Δημήτρ[ι]ος, B., D.—Μάρκος Ἀνθος, B.; Μάρκος, Ἀνθος, D. The division mark between is deep and round.

10. ΕΤΣΙΔΩΡΟΣ, F.; Ε[ι]σίδωρος, B., D. 1, perfectly plain. F. misled by the mark of horizontal alignment which is here very conspicuous, as often in this part of the stone. To this, over the line of separation, is due the following Τ of F.—ΟΙΝΟΥ, unreasonably queried by B.—ΘΕΜΙΣΤΑ, F.; Θεμιστα. . . B.; Θεμιστᾶ[ς], D. The Σ is destroyed on the stone.

11. ΥΓΕΝΟΣ, F.; Υγε[ι]νος, B., D. It is the γ that is almost destroyed, not the ι.

13. F. has the division mark after ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΣ too long, as if Ι.—ΓΡΙΜΟΣ, F.; Γρίμος, B.; [Γ]ρίμος, D. The upper part of Π is still visible.

14. ΑΕΛΠΑΣ, F.; Ἀελπᾶς, B.; Ἀελπᾶς (?), D. The Pape-Benseler Lex. also queries the name Ἀελπᾶς. But F. was right without a doubt.

15. ΠΡΩΤΑΣ: about half of the initial letter is preserved.

16. ΑΚ\ΝΤΑΣ, F.; Α[μ]ύντας, B., D. The Μ is but slightly marred. Its whole contour is easily seen.

17. ΠΡΟΤΟΜΙΣ, F.; Πρότομις (?), B.; Πρότομις, D. ΠΡΟΤΑΝΙΣ is perfectly clear; cf. Πρύτανις, C. I. A. iii. 1080.—ΔΙΟΝΥΣΦΥΣΙΣ, F.; Διονυσ B.; Διονῦς, Φύσις (?), D. There is no doubt about the two words on the stone, but there is no division mark.

19. ΗΡΑΚΕΩΝ, F. (B.); ΗΡΑΚΛΕΩΝ, F. (D.) D.'s version of F. is correct.

22. Γάιος Μηνᾶς, B.; Γάιος, Μηνᾶς, D.; a space separates the two words, but no division mark.—ΚΑΡ . . . ΡΑΣ, F.; Καρ ρας, B.; Καρ ρας, D. After ΚΑΡ are to be seen the remains apparently of a Π . . , and before ΡΑΣ of Ρ; hence I propose ΚΑΡ[ΠΟΣ ΠΥΡ]ΡΑΣ to fill the gap.

23. ΑΝΤΑΣ, F.; Ἀντ[ί]ας (?), B.; Ἀντᾶς, D.; the last is right.— ΠΙΜΟΣ, F.; πιμος, B.; πιμος, D.; now the stone shows plainly only ΙΜΟΣ, with a curve before it that can belong, as it seems, to nothing but Π. Still, there is a chipping of the stone here which is more recent than any other break, and may have happened since F. saw it. But the curve cannot have belonged to Π.

24. ΠΥΓΜ . . . , F.; πυγμ[ῇ νικήσας ἐν τοῖς Γερ], B.; the same is supplied by D. with the exception of ἐν. ΓΕΡ is visible at the end of the line, ΕΡ well cut, Γ faint but clear, except in the lower part which is chipped away.

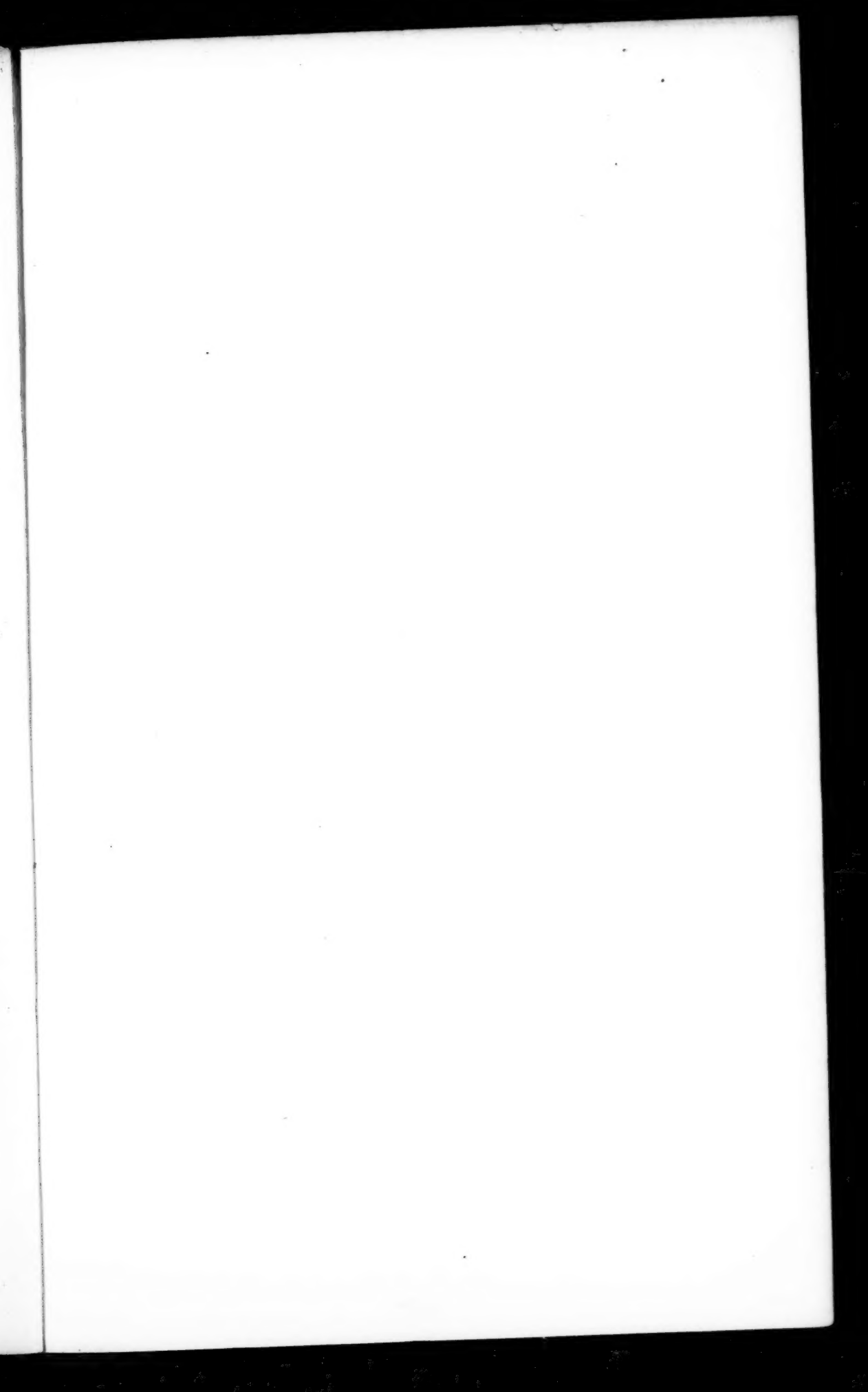
25. ΑΝΕΘ . . . , F.; ἀνέθ[ηκεν], B., D.; but Σ is seen at the end of the line.

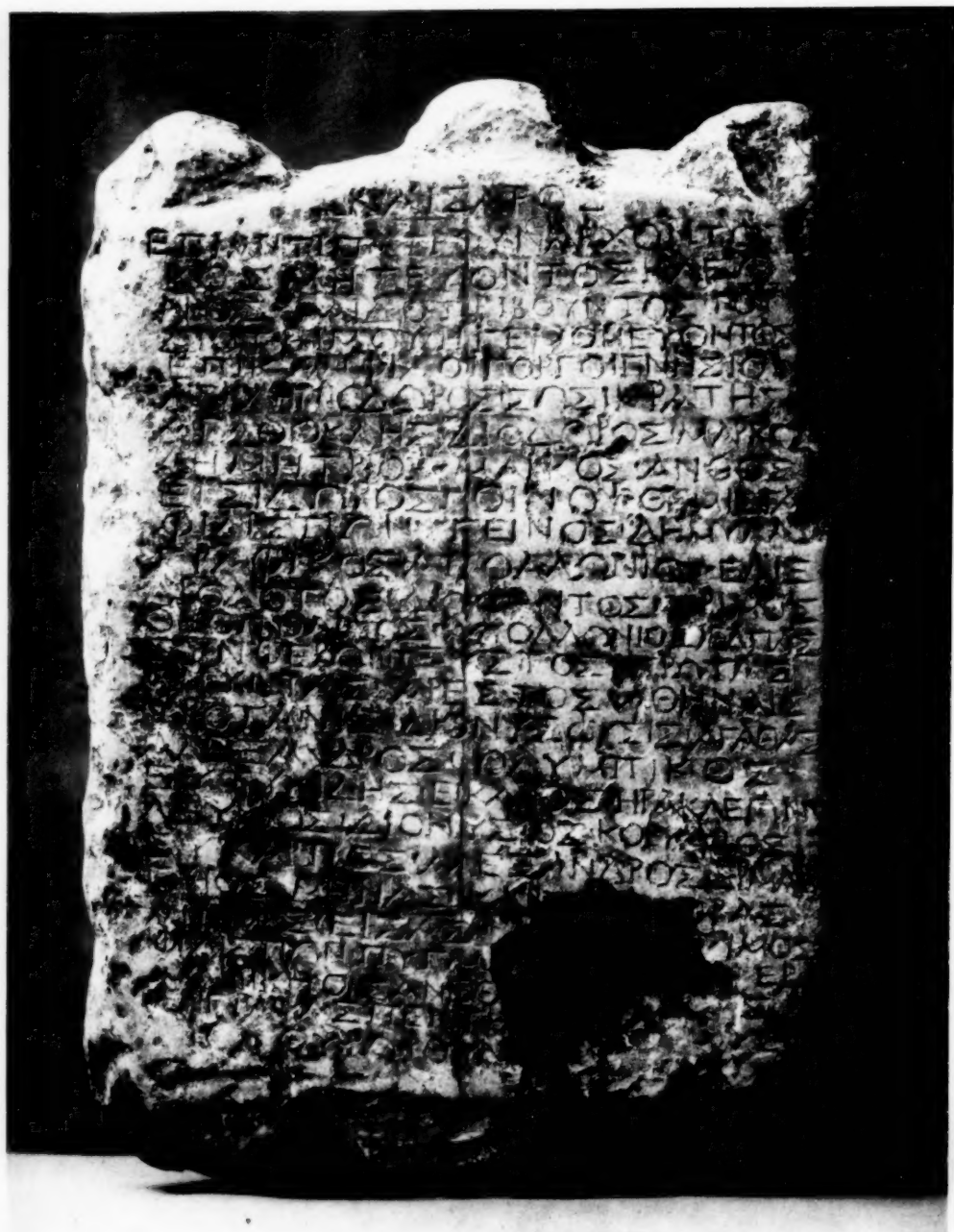
26. ΕΝΤΡΑΨΟΣΠΕΝΤΗ, F.; ἐνγράψ[α]ς [διὰ ?], B.; ἐνγρα[φ]ος (?) πεντη D. ΥΣ well cut at end of line, with trace of an apparent ο before it.

27. ΘΥΡΩΡΟΥΝ F.; θυρωροῦ Ν , B.; θυρωροῦν[τος τοῦ δέινος], D. Υ, with traces of color in the cut, as in some other letters, stands at the end of the line.

It will be observed that in line 24 (accepting the emendations already made), it is said that Philistion, having proved victor in boxing, erected (the stone), having inscribed πεντη . . . , which must be πεντήκοντα; and I propose to fill the gap by supplying ἀνέθηκεν· φίλους ἐνγράφας πεντήκοντα ἰδίου.¹ For, on counting up the names in the catalogue, they are seen to be 52, if two names be supplied in line 23 as B. and D. suggest. But by rejecting Philistion's own name in line 11, and inserting a long name in line 23, or by regarding Γάιος Μηνᾶς as the name of one person, with B., the number 50 is exactly made out, as seems to be required by πεντήκοντα. For the proper name in line 23 the difficulty of substitution is increased by the letter preceding ΙΜΟΣ. If it was Π, as F. wrote, the word might be something like Θεοπόμπιμος. Although I find no such proper name, I see no

¹ Cf. Εἰσίων φίλους ἰδίους καὶ συνεφέβους [τεμίσας] ἀνέθηκεν, C. I. A. iii. 1089; 1102, 1105.





reason why it might not exist. Or if *ΙΜΟΣ* alone remains for us, it might be *Προσδόκιμος* or *Πολύτειμος*. If *Ρ* precedes *ΙΜΟΣ*, it might be *Παντέριμος*. The last line is to be read *θυρωροῦντος Σπόρου*, since we have *θυρώρος Σπόρος* in C. I. A. iii. 1080, which thus begins with the same magistrates and masters, and ends with the same door-keeper, and in addition contains the following names of our inscription: *Διόδωρος, Μᾶρκος, Δημήτριος, Δημυλᾶς, Γραφικός, Ἀπολλώνιος, Διόφαντος, Πρίμος, Συνφέρων, Ἀρεστος, Πρύτανις, Ἀγαθᾶς, Ὀλυμπικός, Εἵκαρος, Ἡρακλέων, Λεύκιος, Διονύσιος, Ἑρμᾶς, Γάϊος, Εἰσᾶς*. The inscription then, will read thus:

Καίσαρος.

- Ἐπὶ Ἀντιπάτρου νε(ωτέρου) ἄρχοντος,
κοσμητεύοντος Κλέω-
νος, [π]αιδοτριβοῦντος τὸ γ'
5. Διοτεῖμου, ἡγεμονεύοντος
Ἐπικτᾶ, φίλοι γοργοὶ γνήσιοι.
Ἀσκληπιόδωρος, Σωσικράτης,
Ἀγαθοκλῆς, Διόδωρος, Μᾶρκος,
Δημήτριος, Μᾶρκος, Ἄνθος,
10. Εἰσίδωρος, Οἶνοψ, Θεμιστᾶ[ς],
Φιλιστίων, Ὑγείνος, Δημυλᾶς,
Γραφικός, Ἀπολλώνιος, Ἐλιξ,
Διόδοτος, Διόφαντος, Πρίμος,
Θεόπομπος, Ἀπολλώνιος, Ἀελπᾶς,
15. Συνφέρων, Ξύστος, Πρωτᾶς,
Ἀμύντας, Ἀρεστος, Ἀθήναῖς,
Πρότανις, Διονῦς, Φύσις, Ἀγαθᾶς,
Ἀλέξανδρος, Ὀλυμπικός,
Εὐτυχίδης, Εἵκαρος, Ἡρακλέων,
20. Λεύκιος, Διονύσιος, Κόρυμβος,
Εὔκαρπος, Ἀλέξανδρος, Ἑρμᾶς,
Γάϊος Μηνᾶς, Κάρ[πος, Πυρ]ρᾶς,
Ἀντᾶς, Εἰσᾶς, ιμος
Φιλιστίων πυγμ[ῇ νικήσας] Γερ-
25. μανικήους ἀνέθ[ηκεν] φίλου]ς
ἐνγράψας πεντή[κοντα ἰδίους]
θυρωροῦν[τος Σπόρου]ν.

II.

Columbia College also possesses a mortuary stela, which is supposed to have been brought here at the same time as the inscription from Athens; but its provenance is unknown. It is surmounted by an ornamental *fastigium*, below which, in a sunken panel, are carved two figures, a man standing, full face, clad in a toga which envelops his right arm and is slightly lifted by the left hand hanging by his side. His height is 16½ inches. Beside him, on his right, stands a boy with side face uplifted to the man, his right arm thrown across the breast to rest on the left shoulder, the other arm crossed over his girdle. A short tunic descends to his knees. His height is 7½ inches. Below the figures is engraved the following inscription:

ΔΕΚΜ. Α

ΧΡΗΣΤΕ

ΧΑΙΡΕ

Δεκμέα χρηστὲ χαίρε.

The last letters of the first line are badly worn, but some traces still remain from which the restoration appears the only possible one. The Α is pretty well defined, and has the v-bar.

The entire length of the stela, including the ornament of the *fastigium*, is 35 inches, the height at the sides 27½ inches, width 15 to 16½ inches, thickness 5 to 5½ inches. The stone is a coarse whitish marble, and while the general shape is well proportioned and pleasing, the carving is sepulchral.

A. C. MERRIAM.

II.—THE /-SOUND IN ENGLISH.

The object of this paper is to prove the independent development of the sound of *i* in English.¹ Of course, by this is not meant the diphthong (*ai*), but the monophthong, as heard in words like *fish*, *bit*, *meet*, *cat*, etc.

Concerning the origin of the Old English *i*-sound, we must chiefly distinguish between two kinds. The one corresponds to Indo-Germanic *i*, for example, O. E. *fisc*, fish; Latin *piscis*, the same sound occurring also in the other Germanic dialects—Gothic *fisks*; O. N. *fiskr*; O. S. *fisc*; O. H. G. *fisk*. So O. E. *bite*, bit; comp. Latin *findo*—*fidi*; Sskr. root *bhid*, to split; Goth. *bitans* (pret. participle); O. H. G. *biz*. The other answers to Indo-Germanic *e*. Here two cases are possible; first, *e* becomes *i* when followed by a consonant combination beginning with a nasal; as O. E. *wind*, wind; Latin *ventus*; Gothic *winds*; O. N. *vindr*; O. S. *wind*; O. H. G. *wint*;² second, *e* becomes *i* when the following syllable contained *i* or *j*, for example, O. E. *birest*, *bireð* (2d and 3d pers. sing. pres. ind. of *beran*, to bear); Lat. *feris*; Gr. *φέρεis*; O. E. *midd*, mid(-night); Lat. *medius*; Gr. *μέσος*, from *μέθjos* (*θj:rs:s*); Goth. *midjis*; O. H. G. *mitti*. Both *i* and *j* have been lost in O. E., either being dropped or weakened to *e*, so that their influence on the *e* (or other vowels) of the preceding syllable is evident only from a comparison with the other Germanic dialects. Another *i* is peculiarly O. E., answering to *e* of the other Germanic dialects (except in Gothic, in which all *e*'s were changed to *i*, the latter being broken to *ai* before *r*); it is found before nasals, for instance, *niman*; compare also foreign words, as O. E. *mint*, mint; Lat. *ment(h)a*; O. E. *pin*, pine; Lat. *poena* (when the word was borrowed *oe* had the sound of *e*, *i*, *e*).

¹ Dr. Balg objects strenuously to the use of the 'political' designation Anglo-Saxon, instead of the 'philological' Old English.—B. L. G.

² That this law for Indo-Germanic *e* answering to Germanic *i* holds good for all Germanic dialects has been doubted and argued against by some, referring to a few apparent exceptions in O. N. The invalidity of these exceptions has, however, been satisfactorily proved by Paul, in Paul and Braune's *Beitraege zur deutschen Sprache und Litteratur*, vol. VI, p. 76 *et seq.*

close *e* being very near to the sound of *i* [like *a* in *take*], and was represented by *i*; the representation of Mdl. Latin *e* by *i* is also quite common in H. G.). Besides the above *i*'s, there is still a third one which developed itself from an O. E. vowel combination from the diphthongs *ea* and *eo*, through the influence of *i* or *j* of the following syllable; in other words, it is a simplification of the *i*-umlaut of *ea* and *eo*, which is *ie*. This *i* interchanges at a later period with *y* (=German *u*). The diphthongs *ea* and *eo* are particularly O. E. vowel combinations whose origin need not here occupy us. Examples for *i* from *ea* are: *ildra*, older, from *ieldra*—*ealdra*; *ildesta*, oldest, from *ieldesta*—*ealdesta*. The *i* of the suffix of the comparative degree had been lost at an early period, and that of the superlative degree weakened to *e*, the original forms being *-ira* for the former and *-ista* for the latter. Compare the corresponding Gothic *alp-iza*, *alp-ista*. O. E. *heah*, *heahira*, *hiehira*, *hiehra*, *hihra*, higher.

All *i*'s hitherto treated of belong to the stem and bear the chief accent of the words in which they occur. The *i*'s of derivative syllables will be considered hereafter. The *i*'s of the inflectional syllables have either been lost at an early stage of Old English or weakened to *e*, as in the case of comparative and superlative suffixes above mentioned. It is almost universally held that Indo-Germanic *e* of unaccented syllables becomes Germanic *i*, and Old English in its turn changes this *i* to *e*. O. E. nom. plur. *fet*, from *fotiz*, and this from *fotez*. Compare Lat. *pedes*, Gr. *πόδες*. O. E. *birest* (2d pers. sing. pres. ind.) from *birist*, *berist*. Compare Gr. *φέρεis*, from *φερε-ι(ς)*, *φέρεσι* (the *ς* in *φέρεis* being a secondary formation). It must be borne in mind that the inflectional *i*, like that of the comparative suffix, causes umlaut of the vowel of the preceding syllable, as is seen from *fet*, originally *foti*, etc.

We now proceed to show that the development and decay of the English *i*-sound took place according to definite laws, no matter of what origin the words are in which the *i* occurs. Our observations will be limited chiefly to the quality of sound, while quantity will be considered only as being a postulate for the change of that quality. Concerning the phonetic laws according to which any change in language takes place, we hold, with the leading German school of modern philology, that they do not admit of exception. But we shall, nevertheless, meet with cases that we cannot reduce to fixed laws. Such cases, however, are but apparent exceptions which will soon or late, according to the stage

of the science of the English language, find their proper place in linguistic formulas. Concerning the term 'change,' as applied to language, we cannot well discard it, although we are aware of its impropriety, and must be satisfied with a reference to Paul's *Principien der Sprachgeschichte*,¹ where the subject is treated at full length.

Upon the whole it may be said that Old English short *i* retained its quality until the present day, while Old English long *i* kept it during the first two periods only. Examples for English short *i* are:

O. E.	Mdl. E.	Mdn. E.
in	in	in ²
is	is	is
willa	wille	will
spillan	spille	spill
mist	mist	mist
swift	swift	swift
fisc	fisk	fish
six	six	six
biter	biter	bitter
swimman	swimme	swim
drincan	drinke	drink
slitan	slite	slit
-scipe	-scipe ³	ship
mintē	mint	mint
biscop	bischof	bishop
	spirit	spirit

The last word comes from the O. French *espirit* (for the form *spright*, see examples with long *i*); *biscop* comes from the vulgar Latin *biscopus* for *episcopus* (= Gr. ἐπίσκοπος). Concerning the quantity of Old English *i* we are in many respects still in the dark, because the manuscripts have not as yet been fully investigated. Sievers remarks that even in Old English there is a tendency to lengthen short vowels. However that may be, we think that in many instances the quantity of *i* and other vowels was dependent on the consonants following it, and on the position the word in

¹ Page 34 *et seq.*

² The majority of the following examples have been taken from Sweet's excellent word lists.

³ For O. E. *sc* we find in Mdl. E. *sk*, *sh*, *sch*, and even *ss*.

which the vowel occurred had in the sentence. In the first case the distinction of the different forms of inflection would be of great moment, for we are of the opinion that, for example, in words like *wild* and *wilde* the consonant combination *ld* originally did not have the same quantitative value, from which we may perhaps infer a quantitative distinction of the preceding vowel too. In consequence of generalization, however, the forms with short *i* may have adopted long, and those with long *i* short quantity, so that it will be difficult to find out the original quantity. Besides this difficulty, that of dialectic discrepancies must not be left out of consideration. We may very well suppose that in the above cases the *i* occurred both as short and long. From what has just been stated, we are, perhaps, able to explain many long *i*'s in Mdl. E. for original shorts. Examples will be given hereafter in addition to those with original long *i*'s. In compounds *i* has occasionally been lost, for example, O. E. *nawiht* (for *ne-a-wiht*), Mdl. E. *nāht* and *nawiht*, Mdn. E. *naught*. Compare, however, *wiht*, *wight*.

In a second class of words with original short *i* we find the quality to be different in the third period, where the *i* has been diphthongized, *i. e.* has become *ai*, the spelling of the previous periods being retained. Now there is a law according to which the modern diphthong *ai* (written *i*) developed itself from Mdl. E. long *i* only; hence the Mdl. E. *i* must have been long in the following words:

O. E.	Mdl. E.	Mdn. E.
riht	riht	right
niht	niht	night
miht	miht	might
cniht	cniht	knight
briht	briht	bright
wiht	wiht	wight
	sprīt	spright
	delīt	delight

The short *i* of the above words was affected by the palatal (originally guttural) sound of *h* and consequently made long. The palatal sound of *h* was designated in Mdl. E. in the most various manners. Besides *h* there occur *hh*, *ch*, *gh* and *zh*, all of them denoting the same palatal sound, like *ch* of the German *ich*. The sign *ch* would, indeed, have suited well to express that palatal

sound, but, as Sweet suggests, it was discarded in order to prevent confusion with the *ch* from *c* in *child*, *much*, etc.; hence the modern writing *gh*. The influence of the palatal upon the short *i* was so powerful that the former was totally absorbed by the latter. The last two words are of Romanic origin, *sprit* coming from the syncopated *esprit*; compare Lat. *spiritus*. The *gh* is, of course, inorganic.

Here belongs also the pronoun *I*, Mdl. E. *ic*, *ich*, *i*, O. E. *ic*. According to Sievers, Old English *ic* shows a tendency to lengthen the *i*; hence *īc* for *ic*. This is not found, however, to have been the case everywhere, for in the Mdl. E. 'Ormulum' the *i* in *icc* is short, but also here occurs the regularly developed form *ī*. Further examples are:

O. E.	Mdl. E.	Mdn. E.
licgan	liȝe-lie	lie
higjan	hiȝe-hīe	hie
tygan(i)	tiȝe-tīe	tie
	diȝe-die	die

The following words, which properly ought to be classed with those having *ē* (= *a* in *name*) in Mdl. E., will for certain reasons be given here:

O. E.	Mdl. E.	Mdn. E.
scild	shēld(ī)	shield
yildan	yēlde(ī)	yield
feld	fēld(ī)	field
wealdan	wēlde (pret. wield)	wield

It will be observed that the above words have both *ē* and *ī* in Mdl. English (for their quantity see the above remarks on *i* followed by *ld*) and Old English. We may very well suppose that the pronunciations *shēld* and *shild* coexisted in the Mdl. E. period, but that the former was predominant, at least at the time when Mdl. E. *ī* became *ai* (written *i*), or else we should have *shild*, *yild*, *feld*, *wild* (*i* pronounced like *ai*) in Mdn. English. As to the modern spelling, it is clear that that of the forms *shild*, etc., could not be retained, or there would be confusion with the *i* of *wild*, *mild*, etc., nor was it necessary to adopt the spelling *ee*; in short, the spelling of the forms with *i* was modified after words like *lie*, *tie*, etc., and those from the French, as *crie* (to cry), *melodie*, etc. It is also possible that preterits like *wield*, *hield*, have been of influence. That words like *melodie*, *philosophie*, which had the

final *i* long, do not have the *ai*-sound in Mdn. English, is due to the *ie* being shortened when the words were fully anglicized, that is to say, when the accent was shifted from the last syllable to the antepenult. Compare also Mdl. E. *jalousie*, *compagnie* with Mdn. *jéalousy*, *company*, etc. Sweet, in his History of English Sounds, p. 149, is of the opinion that the above words are an exception to the general rule of Mdl. E. *i* being diphthongized in Mdn. E. into *a* (written *i*). We think Sweet is wrong in this case. We have already stated that the modern *field* has not come from *field*, but from *fēld*. But, irrespective of this fact, we cannot believe in such an exception, which would be contrary to the laws of sound-change. It may, however, be possible that Mdl. E. *fild* was retained unaltered in the modern period, but then it cannot be put into the same category with the modern *wild*, etc., as developed from Mdl. E. *wild*; it would rather have to be considered as a word from a dialect with which *wild* (= Mdn. E. *wild*) had nothing in common as regards the development of the sound of *i*. The German, indeed, offers analogous examples for the different development of *i*. Compare the diphthong *ei* of the literary German *treiben*, *weib*, *beissen*, with the monophthong *i* of the Low German *drive*, *wif*, *biſſe*.

The *i* of the words to which we are to proceed now was originally long. Examples are :

O. E.	Mdl. E.	Mdn. E.
hwil	hwil	while
mīl	mīl	mile
īs	īs	ice
wīs	wīs	wise
līf	līf	life
cnīf	cnīf	knife
wīf	wīf	wife
mīn	mīn	mine
tīma	tīma	time
fīf (from fimf)	fīf	five
drīfan	drīfan	drive
tīd	tīd	tide
wīd	wīd	wide
īdel	īdel	idle
brīdel	brīdel	bridle

O. E.	Mdl. E.	Mdn. E.
wilde	wild	wild
milde	mild	mild
cild	cild	child
windan	winde	wind
findan	finde	find
	signe, sine	sign
	pile	pile

From a comparison with the corresponding words of the cognate dialects, we are driven to the supposition that the examples with *ld* and *nd* after *i* have short *i* in Old English. In the 'Ormulum' they have the *i* long, but in the compound *winndeclut*, swaddling cloth, it is found to be short. For an explanation of the length in Mdl. E. see remarks above.

Concerning the nature of the diphthongization of *i* into *ai*, it must be remembered that the first element of the diphthong does, or originally did, not have the sound of *a* ($\equiv a$ in *far* or *man*), but that of close *e*¹ ($\equiv a$ in *name*), which afterwards became open *e* ($\equiv a$ in *man*, or nearly so), and is now often heard as *a* in *far*. Now if we suppose that the Mdl. E. long *i* had not the sound of the highest close *i*, but that of a lower sound verging towards close *e*, we can well understand that in consequence of a further raising of that sound towards a higher *i*-position a diphthong was developed which consisted of the original *i*-sound as its first, and a higher one as its second element. If, on the other hand, Mdl. E. *i* had been raised to its highest sound, we must, for the formation of the diphthong in question, suppose that the tongue first had the position of the first element, *e* or a similar sound, and that this sound was uttered before the tongue was raised to the higher position of *i*. For the definition of the conception 'diphthong,' we refer to Sweet's *Phonetics* and Sievers' *Phonetik*.

It should be noticed that the *i* of *mild*, *mind*, etc., has been diphthongized, while in *hint*, *hilt*, etc., original short *i* is retained. This distinction depends, no doubt, on the character of the consonant combination following the *i*. In *hint*, etc., the *n* is voiceless, because of its being followed by a voiceless noise-sound,²

¹ This sound is still to be heard in the dialect spoken in the city of Cologne in words like *breit*, broad; *kleid*, dress; *deit*, does. In the environs of Cologne these words are pronounced *brēt*, *klēd*, *dēt*, *ē* having the same sound as the first element of the diphthong *ei* in *kleid*, etc.

² For this term, see remark in author's translation of Braune's *Gothic Grammar*, page 18.

while in *mild*, etc., both *l* and *d* are voiced. (Comp. Sievers' *Phonetik*, p. 205.)

A peculiarly modern English sound occurs before *r* final and combinations beginning with *r*, for example :

O. E.	Mdl. E.	Mdn. E.
hire	hire (e)	her
þirda	þird	third
bridd	brid (bird)	bird
mirhð	mirðe	mirth
hirde	hirde (e)	herd

Metathesis, as in *bird* for *brid*, *þirda* for *þrida*, is quite frequent in English; compare also *while* for *hwile*, what for *hwat*, the *h* of *hw* originally having a guttural sound.

The *i* of some words occurs either in the first period only or as a variation of other sounds :

O. E.	Mdl. E.	Mdn. E.
gillan	ǵelle	yell
niðer	niðer (e)	nether
-gitan	get	get
rinnan	rune	run
micel	much	much
cliwe	cleu	clew
niwe	neu	new
gese (i)	ǵes (i)	yes
gestrandaeg (i)	ǵesterdai (i, u)	yesterday
get (i)	ǵet (i, u)	yet

Besides *gillan* there occurs also *gellan*, from which the former has arisen through vowel breaking (*gellan*, *giellan*), *ie* interchanging with *i*. It has already been stated that this kind of breaking was caused by the guttural being palatized; compare also *ǵietan*, *ǵitan*. But it must be borne in mind that in some dialects the insertion of *i* between *g* and *e* did not take place, a circumstance which sufficiently explains the double forms *ǵi(e)tan*, *getan*, etc. It should be noticed that in Mdn. E. the pronunciation *git* still occurs among the uneducated. The Mdl. and Mdn. E. *neðer*, *nether* have probably not developed from *neoðor*, the regularly broken form of *niðor*, but the *e* is due to confusion with *i*, to which it was most likely closely related in sound.

The *u* of Mdl. E. *runne*, for original *i*, Mdn. E. *run*, is by no means due to a spontaneous sound-change, but to confusion with the *u* of the preterit and preterit participle. The principal parts of *rinnan* are *rinne*, *ran*, *runnon*, *runnen*. Analogous cases are quite numerous in language; compare O. E. *stelan*, *stael*, *staelon*, *stolen* with Mdn. E. *steal*, *stole*, *stolen*; *baer*, *boren* with *bore*, *borne*, etc. Mdn. E. *much* does not come directly from *micel*, but from *mycel* (*y* for *i* being quite common at the end of the O. E. period); compare also *cirice*, *cyrice*, *church*, from Gr. κυριακόν. O. E. *y* was in many cases represented in Mdl. E. by the French *u*; hence the modern spelling *church*. For the sound of *u* before *r*, see remarks with reference to *her*, *bird*, etc. It has been supposed that the *u* of *run* may have arisen from the forms with metathesis, *urnen* (for *yrnen*); this seems to us too far-fetched, as we cannot with certainty adduce any analogous examples. O. E. *yrnan* comes from *iernan*, *ie* being weakened from *io*, and this broken from *i* through the influence of the consonant combination *rn*. O. E. *cliwe* (*cleowe*), *niwe* (*neowe*) are from stems in *ja* (*jo*); compare Gothic *niujis* **kliujis*. The original O. E. forms have therefore undergone a considerable change, or rather decay, which, however interesting it would be, cannot here be a matter of discussion. The Mdl. E. forms corresponding to O. E. *cliwe*, *cleowe*, *niwe*, *neowe*, are *niwe*, *newe*, *neowe*, *neu* and *cliwe*, *clewe*, *cleowe*, *cleu* respectively. There is considerable uncertainty as to the pronunciation of *eu* (*ew*) during the middle and some portion of the modern periods. Ellis (On Early English Pronunciation, part I, p. 302) remarks that "several of the *eu*-words, as *knew*, *new*, *true*, had fallen into the *y*-class, and that at present all the *y*-class and most of the *eu*-class have formed an *iu*-class, except when, through the influence of a preceding *r*, the modern English organs naturally change *iu* into *uu*, but some of the *eu*-class have become *oo*, as *shew*, now more frequently written *show*." Sweet (History of English Sounds, p. 65) states that long *yy* both in English words, such as *nyy*, and French, such as *tyyn*, was diphthongized into *iu*, *nyy* and *tyyn*, becoming *niu* and *tiun*, but that the older *yy* was, however, still preserved by some speakers, etc. We would rather suggest that *eu* (*ew*), as a rule, never had the *y*-sound among the English-speaking people, but that *eu* was pronounced like *y*, first only in words of French origin by those who were conscious of that origin; furthermore, that the few words of which Mr. Ellis speaks as having fallen into the *y*-class had the *y*-sound through

French influence, and that only in the mouths of some speakers, while the true English *eu* (*ew*)-sound had not ceased to exist, nay, was even prevailing. Concerning the origin of *eu* (*ew*), we think the latter to have arisen through vocalization of the *w* when final, that is to say, when the inflectional *e* lost its pronunciation, the so-called semivowel *w* was vocalized and received the sound of *u*, which in the course of time was also adopted for *w* medial. At a later period the accent was shifted from the first element to the second, from the *e* to the *w* (*u*), as sometimes in the combinations *ea* and *eo*, in consequence of which the *e* was raised to the position of *i*; hence the sound *iu*. When this *iu*-sound had once been established in English words, it was also given to the *eu* (*y*) of French words; notice, however, the pronunciation of the Mdn. E. *clew*, *grew*, *crew*, in which the *i*-sound has been lost on account of the preceding liquids *l*, *r*. If our theory as to the change of *eu* into *iu* is correct, then Mr. Sweet's remark that it was probably the influence of this new *iu* (*i. e.* *iu* of *niu* and *tiun* from *nyy* and *tyyn* respectively) that changed the older *eu* into *iu*, etc., can no longer be sustained.—In the last three words the *e* is predominant, whence the modern short *e*; *gese* comes from *ge-swa*; comp. *yea* from O. E. *gea*. It is worthy of note that the pronunciation *yisterday* is still heard among the people.

All cases hitherto considered refer to words that have the *i*-sound either in all or at least in the first two periods, while in the third it was diphthongized or changed into the sound of what is usually marked by *ē*. We shall now turn to such *i*'s as do not occur in O. E., but have at a later period developed from sounds other than *i*.

The examples which will be given first properly belong to the first category, but since they are generally found in O. E. as having *eo* instead of *i*, we adduce them here:

O. E.	Mdl. E.	Mdn. E.
meolc	milk	milk
seolc	silk	silk
seolfor	silver	silver

The *eo* of the above words stands for former *io*, which was broken from *i*, the breaking being caused by the original dark vowel *o* of the final syllable; compare Gothic *miluks*, *silubr*. If it could be proved that *eo* had, in one way or the other, been changed to *ie*, then the Mdl. E. *i* might easily be explained as

having arisen from *eo*, *ie*, but such explanation we cannot with certainty give; we hold, therefore, that the *i* has not developed from *eo*, but that the Mdl. and Mdn. E. forms come from the original O. E. ones with *i*. It has already been remarked that vowel-breaking does not extend over all dialects of the English language.

Let us now pass to such cases where the *i*-sound first appears in Mdl. E., or rather in late O. E., its corresponding early O. E. sound being *y*, the *i*-umlaut of *u*, for example:

O. E.	Mdl. E.	Mdn. E.
hype	hip (u)	hip
cyning	cing	king
mȳs	mīs	mice
lȳs	līs	lice

For the original O. E. forms compare Goth. *hups* (stem *hupi-*); O. H. G. *chuni(n)g*, etc.; *mȳs* and *lȳs*¹ have the nom. sing. *mus*, *lus*. The umlaut *y* occurs when the case ending contained *i*, namely, in the gen., dat. sing., and nom., acc. plur.; hence *mȳs*, *lȳs*. In the subsequent development the vowel *u* became predominant in the whole singular after the analogy of the nom., acc. sing., while in the plur. the *u* was crowded out by the *y* of the nom., acc. plur. In Low German there still exist *mus*, *lus* for the sing. and *mȳs*, *lȳs* for the plur. In late O. E. we have the unrounding of *ȳ* to *i*, whence Mdn. E. *hip*, *king*. Long *y* coincided with long *i*; hence the modern diphthong in *mice*, *lice*.

In the following examples the *i*-sound has developed itself from O. E. *g*.

O. E.	Mdl. E.	Mdn. E.
weg	wei (or <i>ai</i>)	wag
plega	plei "	play
segel	seil "	sail
regen	rein "	rain
braegn	brein	brain
taegl	teil	tail
daeg	dei	day
maeg	mei	may
faeger	feir	fair
secgan	sei	say

¹*y*=German *ü*.

O. E.	Mdl. E.	Mdn. E.
eage	ei	eye
	preie	pray
	preise	praise
	bai	bay

The last three words are from the French. According to Sweet (History of English Sounds, p. 52), "all the Middle English diphthongs, with the exception of those in words taken from Norse and French, arose from weakening of the consonant *g*, by which *g* passed through *gh* (as in German *sagen*) into *i*." Furthermore (on p. 53), the author suggests that "the development of *ai* from *èi* (*sai*=*sèi*=*secgan*) is paralleled by the Danish pronunciation of *ei* (as in *vei*=*veg*) as *ai*, and is probably the result of an attempt to bring out the diphthongic character of the combination more clearly." The combination *aei* likewise became *ai* in Mdl. E., though perhaps earlier than *ei*. The Mdl. E. diphthong *ai* has been reduced in Mdn. E. to the sound of *e* (= *a* in *name*, the spelling *ai* being retained), a process due to a reciprocal assimilation of the two elements forming that diphthong (see Sievers' *Phonetik*, p. 207). From the pronunciation of the Mdn. E. *eye* we must infer a Mdl. E. pronunciation *ī* or *īe*, besides the diphthongic *ei* or *ai*; nor are we altogether in want of proof that such has been the case, for the reason that Chaucer rhymes *ei*e with *philosophie*, and the more ancient *eyen* with *crien*.

It is worthy of note that, as Sweet suggests, the modern *e* in *day*, *may*, etc., is not a pure monophthong, but rather a diphthong, because the *e* is followed by a (weak) *i*-sound; compare also *take* (= *te'ke*). A similar diphthongization may be observed in the case of the other long vowels, for example, *no*¹ for *no*, *do*^{n't} for *don't*.

In the next class of words the *i*-sound is found in the third period only. Concerning its origin, it has developed itself from Mdl. E. long *e*, which in its turn corresponds to O. E. long *e* or *eo*. O. E. long *e* answers, first, Gothic *e*, as in *hēr*, here; second, it is *i*-umlaut of *o*, for example, *dēman* from *dōmjan*, to deem; *grēn*, green, from stem *grōni-*, Germanic root *gro*, from which English *to grow*. The word *gēs* has *ē* through the influence of the inflectional *i*, once present in early Old English, from *o* (*gōs* in its turn

¹ We frequently had an opportunity to very distinctly hear this diphthong, when teaching a class of pupils coming from London and its vicinity.

coming from *gāns*); the short *a* has been nasalized by the following *n*, and in this way made long. Another example is Mdl. E. *strēte* (*ae*), O. E. *strāēt* (*ē*),¹ from Early Mdl. Latin *strata* (sc. *via*). Third, it may be of other origin. As to the diphthong *eo*, it must be borne in mind that the accent was on its first element, not, as is often suggested, on the second. The origin of *eo* is manifold; compare the corresponding discussions in Sievers' *Angelsaechsische Grammatik*, page 12, and Paul's article in Paul and Braune's *Beitraege z. d. Spr. und L.* vol. VI, p. 42 *et seq.* A few interesting examples, however, may here find room, namely, *feond*, *freond*, *seon*. The first two are from the present participles **fi(j)ond*, **fri(j)ond*; infinitive *fijōn*, *frijōn*, to hate, to love. Compare Gothic *frijonds*, friend, *fijands*, enemy. The participles *feond*, *freond*, etc., were also used as nouns, and in this case inflected like nouns. The case-endings, however, were taken promiscuously from different declensions; hence the forms with umlaut, *fiend*, *friend* (from which *fynd*, *frynd*). Both forms, that with *ie* and the other with *e*, must have existed at the same time. Chaucer rhymes *frend* with *fend*, Shakspeare on the one hand *friend* with *end*, *spend*, on the other *fiend* with *friend*, *cnd*. We may therefore judge that Shakspeare pronounced *e* even when the spelling was *ie* (supposing, of course, this *ie* is original). Mdl. E. *ē* as a rule became *ī* (= *i* in *machine*) in Mdn. E.; hence we should expect *freend* or *friend*, both with the long *i*-sound, as in the case of *fiend*. The short *e* in *friend* must be due to an early shortening of the original long *e*, the modern spelling *ie* being that of the original forms with umlaut. The verb O. E. *seon* comes from *sehwon*, *sehon*, *seon*, the diphthong *eo* being therefore the result of the dropping of *h*. Further examples are:

O. E.	Mdl. E.	Mdn. E.
fēlan	fēle	feel
swēt	swēt	sweet
fēt	fēt	feet
hē	hē	he
þē	þē	thee
wē	wē	we
mē	mē	me
gē	ȝē	ye

¹ The form with *āē* is West Saxon.

O. E.	Mdl. E.	Mdn. E.
	degrē	degree
	discrēt	discreet
	fēble	feeble
	receive	receive
	perceive	perceive
deop	dēp	deep
cneo(w)	cnē	knee
freo(io)	frē(i)	free
treo(w)	trē	tree
wheol	whēl	wheel
beor	bēr	beer
feoh	fē	fee

It must be noticed that the *e* of the modern English pronouns *he*, *we*, etc., is sometimes short, namely when not being emphasized, for example, *hē hās*, but long in *hē has*; *hē is*, but *it is hē*, etc. This kind of shortening may also be seen elsewhere, for instance, *mylōrd* for original *mȳ lord*; German *vielleicht* for *viel leicht*, etc. Maetzner, in his *Englische Grammatik*, p. 108, remarks that the *ee* in *free*, etc., answers Old English (Anglo-Saxon) *ī*, which, of course, explains nothing. O. E. *frī* answers Mdl. E. *frī*, which actually occurs, and this would be *fri* (*i = ai*) in Mdn. E. The original O. E. form is *frio*, contracted from *frijo* (stem in *jo*); *eo* for *io* is quite frequent; comp. the above *freond*, *feond* for *friond*, *fiond*. The further development of *eo* was *e*, Mdn. E. *ee*. In *ðreo*, originally *ðrī*, the *eo* is due to the breaking of *i*, in consequence of the dark vowel *a* of the genit. plur. *ðreora*, and was transferred from this case to the other cases of both the sing. and plur. The words found in the second and third columns only are from the French. The *ei* in *receive*, etc., must have lost its diphthongic character very early, at least before the *ei* of *weg-wei* became *wai*, or else we should have *recaive* instead of *receive*. The diphthong *ei* of the above words first became *ē* (*= a* in *take*), and this was regularly raised to *i* (written *ee*) in Mdn. E., while the Mdl. E. spelling *ei* was retained.

Another *i*-sound is represented in Mdn. E. by *ea*. It answers close or open *ē* in Mdl. E., and short *e*, long *ae*, or long *ea* in O. E. First, *ea* answers O. E. *e*:

O. E.	Mdl. E.	Mdn. E.
smerian	smère (è = open <i>e</i>)	smear
etan	ète	eat
specan (sprecan)	spèce (sprece)	speak
spere	spèr	spear
sceran	scère	shear
wrecan	wrèce	wreak

Second, Mdn. E. *ea* from O. E. *ae* :

sae	sè (é)	sea
claene	clèn (é)	clean
dael	dèl (é)	deal
hwaete	hwèt (é)	wheat
taecan	tèche (é)	teach

Third, Mdn. E. *ea* corresponds to O. E. *ea* :

flea	flè (é)	flea
eare	rè (é)	ear
tear	tèr (é)	tear
beane	bèn (é)	bean
steam	stèm (é)	steam
stream	strèm (é)	stream

According to Mr. Ellis's researches (see Sweet, *History of English Sounds*, p. 50), the *e* of the above Mdl. E. words was different from the Mdl. E. *e* corresponding to the Mdn. sound of *ee* as in *see*. The latter had the *i*-sound as early as the sixteenth century, while the former had not yet been raised to that position, but had been developed into close *e* (é), from an earlier open *e* (è) the sound of which was similar to that of *ae* in German. For details on this point we refer to the above cited works of Sweet and Paul. The modern *speak* comes from root *spec*; *sprekan*, *sprece* from root *sprec*.

We trust our demonstration in behalf of the development of the sound of *i* in stem-syllables has been carried far enough to show that this development has taken place by virtue of laws of sound-change peculiar to the English language. The same will be found to be true in the case of the sound of *i* of formative particles. As to the inflectional *i*, it has already been remarked that this sound was lost or weakened to *e* at an early stage of the

English language. The sound of formative *i* is almost regularly short and unaccented. If the reverse is the case, the sound is treated like the corresponding long *i* of stem-syllables. For details see remarks below. There are two kinds of formative particles, suffixes and prefixes, in both of which the *i*-sound occurs. Examples for the *i* of suffixes are:

O. E.	Mdl. E.	Mdn. E.
bod-ig	bodi	body
iv-ig	ivi	ivy
pen-i(n)g	peni	penny
is-ig	isi	icy
cyn-ing	cyng(i)	king
mod-ig	modi	moody
meaht-(or miht-)ig	mihti	mighty
man-ig	mani	many
hlaford-scipe	hlafordship	lordship
deor-ling	derling	darling
engl-isc	english	English
	angu-ish	anguish
	nap-kin	napkin
	just-ice	justice
	nour-isse	nourish
	var-ie	vary

The number of words with both prefixes and suffixes is comparatively small in Old English, but very large in Mdl. and Mdn. E., of course through French and Latin accessions. Concerning the origin of the suffix *-ig*, the latter may correspond to Gothic *-ags* or *-eigs*; compare *modig*, *mihtig* with Goth. *modags*, *mahteigs* respectively (*ei* = *ea* in *tea*). The two sounds, that of *a* and that of *ei*, have coincided in O. E., probably through the influence of inflection. This coincidence must have occurred after the *i* had lost its power of causing umlaut, or else we should have *medig* in the place of *modig*; *king* is a contracted form of *cyning*. It should be noticed that the original accent of the Romanic words was shifted backwards in English; hence the verb *vary* with the accent on the *a*, and with short *i* (*e*) represented by *y*. Compare, however, verbs like *multiply*, *justify*, with *i* diphthongized; in these words the *i* belongs to the stem of the verb, and has retained its original accent longer than verbs like *vary*, *cary*, etc. The other class of derivatives may be represented, for example, by:

O. E.	Mdl. E.	Mdn. E.
(be) bi-feallan	(be) bifalle	befall
-hofian	-hofie	behoove
in-siht	-siht	insight
wið-standan	-stande	withstand
mis-lician	-like	mislike
	in-curable	incurable
	in-carnacion	incarnation
	mis-chief	mischief
		biscuit
		bi-ennial

Short unaccented *i* interchanges with *e*; hence *be-* for *bi-*. The Germanic prefix *bi-* of *bi-feallan* must be distinguished from the Romanic separable particle *bi-*, *bis*. That the *i* of the latter *bi-* is generally long seems to be due to the fact that the speaker using it is still conscious of its being a word for itself with the same accent found in the main part of the compound, in consequence of which the *i* was made long like all final *i*'s with a full accent. Similarly, we must distinguish between the English *in* and those of Romanic origin. The *in* of *insight* is English, corresponding to Goth., O. S., and Germ. *in* (*in*), Lat. *in*, Gr. *en*. The Romanic *in* of *incurable* is a negative particle interchanging with the true English negative prefix *un-*, which answers O. S. *un-*, O. N. *ó-*, Germ. *un-*, Gr. *ἀ-* (*α*). The *in* of *incarnation* as well as the Germanic one interchange with the Romanic prefix *en*. Notice also the different origins of the prefix *mis*, the one, as in *mislician*, being Germanic—comp. Germ. *mis(s)-*, an old participle in *to-*, from root *miþ*, to avoid, forbear, whence also E. *to miss*, Gothic and O. H. G. *missa-* (*ss* from *þ*)—the other, as in *mischief*, Romanic, coming from the Latin *minus*, less.

From the above discussions it is evident that all so-called change of the sound of *i* in English, no matter of what origin, took place under definite conditions, and it must be admitted that these conditions did not lie outside of, but within the sphere of the English language; that the impulse for the development and decay of that sound was given by homogeneous elements, that is to say, by the nature of the English language itself. It is not necessary, we think, to carry our discussions farther; from what has been said it will be clear that the sound of *i* in English, ever since its origin, has been subject to definite laws of development and decay, and we trust that whoever is convinced of the life of

one limb, will admit that the rest of the body is not altogether dead. If, then, we acknowledge the power of development to have existed for the sound of English *i*, to have been present for the whole of the English language, we cannot but grant the latter as a language the same rank which is given, for instance, to German and other living languages. Hence it is no more a mixed language than those.

G. H. BALG.

III.—CONFLATE READINGS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

It has for some time been my conviction that many of the textual obscurities in the New Testament and other early books are due to the operation of unrecognized causes, for the want of a perception of which the scholar is often presented with a text which might, indeed, be genealogically nearer to the true reading than other more popular presentations of an author's words, but which, as regards good sense, are often very widely remote from the truth. One such hitherto occult factor (I call it occult since I cannot find any recognition of it in any book that I know) I believe to lie in the existence of lateral aberrations from one point to a corresponding point in the columns of an ancient MS, and there are instances to be found of the application of this remark to textual criticism in various errors which are alluded to in the supplement to the 12th number of the American Journal of Philology. Since publishing these I have from time to time returned to the point, and last year endeavored to prepare, by means of these lateral errors, a complete restoration of the text of the Epistle of James, line for line and page for page, to its archaic form. Unfortunately, I have not as yet been able to lay this restoration before those who are interested enough in New Testament studies to give the matter a careful examination.

It will easily be seen that any attempt to find the origin of the textual errors of the New Testament in the early forms of the text itself, is part of a larger theory, viz. that *the study of transcriptional errors belongs to the paleographer first and the general critic afterwards*. Unhappily, the course of modern criticism, with a few honorable exceptions, has been in the opposite direction. We often hear from the critics explanations of scribes' blunders; their scribe, however, is not a machine, but a highly cultured cleric, with an unlimited facility for confusing the Bible with itself and correcting the New Testament by means of obscure verses in the book of Job, or Proverbs, or Leviticus. Neither Burgon nor Hort could sit down to copy the New Testament and make some of the mistakes which they attribute to the scribes.

On the other hand, when we treat the scribe as a machine imperfectly adjusted, and examine the errors which he is most

likely to make, we find, upon examination, that these are often the very mistakes which he has made; and that a very simple explanation will often replace some obscure assimilation. Even when a scribe assimilates his text to some other, there is often a reason to be given for his error, which removes it from the catalogue of things purely arbitrary. For instance, if we observe that the structure of all known MSS is rectangular, the principal motions of a scribe's eye are mechanical motions right and left, and up and down. It follows, therefore, that the machine-errors to which he is most liable are right and left errors, and up and down errors. The latter causes line-omissions and line-repetitions, the former causes page-aberrations, and the omission or repetition of equal large portions of the text. No one doubts the existence of the vertical error which is patent in the omission in almost every written document of lines of the copy; but a great many people fail to see that the cause which produces this error can be turned through a right angle and still retain its efficiency. The reason of this is, that in ordinary printed texts it is easy to detect the line error, but the page-error is often veiled, especially in those cases where it is confined to the borrowing of a few letters or a single word from a distant part of the copy. Moreover, our modern printed books seldom show more than two columns to the eye at once, and do not therefore suggest such errors. A transposed page is, however, easy to recognize; this form of mistake is more often due to the bookbinder than to the scribe.

It must not be supposed, from what has been stated, that the recognition of the line-aberration has been accompanied by a proper critical application of the principle of such aberrations to the text of the New Testament. Some of the best printed editions are disfigured by ghastly line-errors. For example, Westcott and Hort print on the very first page of their N. T., Matt. i 7:

Ἀβιὰ δὲ ἐγέννησεν τὸν Ἀσάφ,
 Ἀσὰφ δὲ ἐγέννησεν τὸν Ἰωσαφάτ,
 Ἰωσαφάτ δὲ κτέ

where the reading Ἀσάφ arises simply from the corresponding letters in the word Ἰωσαφάτ. Perhaps an exactly similar explanation holds on the next page, where we read:

Μαυασσῆς δὲ ἐγέννησεν τὸν Ἀμῶς
 Ἀμῶς δὲ ἐγέννησεν τὸν Ἰωσείαν
 Ἰωσείας δὲ κτέ

It can hardly be accidental that this coincidence of letters is found in the proper names. And this simple paleographic explanation being given, is not to be shaken by an array of excellent MSS in which the archaic error may be preserved. For another instance take Luke xv 29; if the text were written in the form

ΕΔΩΚΑ CΕΡΙΦΟΝΙΝΑ
ΜΕΤΑ ΤΩΝ ΦΙΛΩΝ ΜΟΥ

it would be likely that any transcriber who had written *ἐρίφιον* for *ἔριφον* had been guilty of an eye-aberration into the *φίλων* of the next line; and then the variant would hardly have been promoted to the margin of Westcott and Hort's text on the single authority of Cod. B.

Nor should we, in Mark vi 14, read *ἔλεγον* for *ἐλεγεν*, if we observed that in

ΤΟ ΟΝΟΜΑ ΔΥΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ Ε
ΛΕΓΟΝ

the tense has been affected by the first syllable of *ὄνομα*. Neither should we read *ἐπέγνωσαν* in Mark vi 33 for *ἐγνώσαν* if the text were printed

ΕΓΝΩCΑΝ ΠΟΛΛΟΙ ΚΑΙ
ΠΕΖΗ

where the inserted letters are evidently taken from the line below. We might say much more on the subject of line-errors, but for the present let this suffice. We pass on to make a few remarks on the page-errors.

Let us then once more demonstrate the frequency of the error to which we give the name of lateral aberration, or parablepsy. The importance of the study of the lateral aberrations becomes more and more evident as we examine microscopically the text of the New Testament; it is probable that not a single one of the books of the New Testament, except some of the shorter epistles, has escaped from this error. And in many cases the most perplexing variants are cleared up by the recognition of the existence of such a source of error in columnar texts. We shall give a string of illustrations. For example, in the text of Matt. xiii 35 we have a very difficult reading in which there is the following distribution of authority: *ὅπως πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ τοῦ προφήτου λεγοντος, 'Ανοίξω ἐν παραβολαῖς τὸ στόμα μου κτέ* by almost all authorities. After *διὰ* is

added 'Hsaíou by \aleph^* 1, 13-124-346, 33, 253 rushw. æth. cod., Hom. Cl. Porphy. (cf. Brev. Psalt. in Hier. Opp. vii 270, Vall.)¹

If we were left simply to balance these authorities, we should, I think, conclude in favor of the ordinary reading. But the affair is not so simple as at first sight appears. For, as pointed out by Dr. Hort, we have the evidence of Jerome that there was a third reading, in which 'Aσάφ takes the place of 'Hsaíou. And although this reading is not to be found in any existing MS, yet according to the Brev. in Psalmos, we are assured that it was found in all old MSS, but was removed by ignorant men; that by an error of scribes 'Hsaíou was written for 'Aσάφ, and that at the time of writing many copies of the Gospel still had 'Hsaíou.

I propose to show that 'Aσάφ may be the correct reading, although it has disappeared from all known MSS. In order to see this, let us write the passage in question out conjecturally in the style of an early codex or paper roll.

Matt. xiii 35 :	οπως πληρωθη	μαθηται αυτου
	τορθηθεν διασαφ	λεγοντες διασαφ
	του προφητου λε	γοντος οτι ημιν . . .
	γοντος οτι ημιν	
	εν παραβολαις το	
	στοματος ερευν	
	ηται κρυμμε	
	να αποκαταβολης	
	τοτε αφειστος	
	χλος χληθεν εις	
	οικια και προς	
	ηθανατωσι	

A single glance at the second lines of the two columns will suggest that six letters in one column were transferred from the other; and whether we have hit upon the exact arrangement of text or not, the concurrence is difficult to explain except by some such restoration. We must now take one of two hypotheses: (a) Column 1 took the letters from col. 2; (β) The converse.

In discussing the first, we are to remark that in the assumed case we have to replace a right reading (whatever it may be) by a wrong one which itself is so apposite to the case that it would be a perfect marvel in the history of curious coincidences. Surely no

¹ Hort, Notes on Select Readings, p. 13.

scribe remembered that Ps. LXXVIII was attributed to Asaph when he saw the words in an adjacent page. And if we suppose the original reading to be Ἡσαίου we have to assume that a happy accident corrected into sense an absolute falsity, and removed a reading the acceptance of which strains all our faith in the accuracy of the writer who primitively set it down.

In the other hypothesis there is no difficulty: for not only have we very good patristic authority for the existence of the variant, but we have the additional confirmation that the displaced reading of the second column has been preserved to us. If there were no variant in the second column we might, perhaps, feel a residual hesitancy; but a reference to the textual apparatus in any New Testament will show that the proper reading is not διασάφησον but φράσον. For example, the following is the note of Tregelles. διασαφήσον B. *Orig.* iv 254^a enarra. a. b. g¹ h (narra ff²) | φρασον St. CD. rel. *Orig.* iii 3^o. 4^{b, c}, 442^a, 481^b, edissere (diss.) Vulg. Cl (*Am*) (c) f. (ff¹) g² (vid. cap. xv. 15). To which it must be added that the Sinaitic Codex has διασάφησον corrected to φράσον by an early hand. If, then, we were reasoning simply upon the grouping of the MSS, we should, perhaps, incline with Tregelles and Westcott and Hort to follow the concurrence of NB and early Latin copies; but the cause of the variant being known, the variant, however ancient it may be, must disappear. Early the error must, of course, be, as indeed are all important errors; but this has an especial antiquity, since it has affected copies which between them can produce a singularly pure text.

And now let us gather up the conclusions which would follow from our conjecture.

1. The primitive page in Matthew, or at least a very early page, from a copy which is genealogically ancestral to almost all our early texts, contained about 160 letters.

2. Since the Sinaitic Codex has preserved the lateral error, while writing Ἡσαίου for ἀσάφ, we may endorse the statement of the Breviarium in Psalmos as to the order of genesis of the separate errors.

3. We note that Tregelles, and, no doubt, other writers, have assumed that φράσον is an assimilation of text to the 15th verse of the XVth chapter. This exaggerated doctrine of assimilation has led to frequent errors. The present case is one in point.

4. We cannot close our remarks without adding that here we have an instance which we believe a closer scrutiny would parallel

- from many other obscure passages in the Scripture, of an original reading no longer extant.

As soon as we have recognized this archaic arrangement of the pages we have a shrewd suspicion that the very same MS or series of MSS in which the error already alluded to was made and preserved, is responsible for an omission in Matthew xvi 2, 3, 'Οψίας γενομένης λέγετε κτέ. For on examining the passage it is found to contain 162 letters, which agrees very closely with the previous estimate. Dr. Hort says of this passage, that "both documentary evidence, and the impossibility of accounting for omission, prove these words to be no part of the text of N. T." The omission of a single page is a sufficient explanation, and in nowise affects the documentary evidence in other passages, from which an induction has been made to the case under consideration.

A second instance shall be given from the same Gospel. The error, again, is one which has altogether disappeared from the copies. In the time of Origen, however, we find that in the xxi of Matthew, the expression 'Οσαννὰ τῷ υἱῷ Δαυείδ was changed into 'Οσαννὰ τῷ οἴκῳ Δαυείδ, in one of the two verses (xxi 9, 15) where the words occur. Origen will have υἱῷ read in both places.¹ An examination shows that the error was made in the 13th verse by lateral aberration from the 15th, probably in some copy immediately ancestral to Cod. B. For in this MS we have in the 34th line of the first column of a page

ΠΤΑΙΟΟΙΚΟΜΟΥΟΙΚΟC

and in the fifth line of the second column,

ΓΟΝΤΑCΩCΑΝΝΑΤΩΥ
ΙΩ

the interval between these lines being 14 of the lines of B or one-third of its columns.

As an illustration of the same mistake in the Gospel of Mark we may take Mark v 1, where by borrowing four letters from the fifth verse, the reading Γαδαρηνῶν has been changed by means of the word ἡμέρας lying parallel with it, into Γερασσηνῶν. It is possible that this explanation may be thought fanciful; stranger ones will be given presently and with greater certainty. From the Gospel of Luke a remarkable case will be given later on.

¹ See Tischendorf, *in loc.*

In John v 37 we have the following arrangement from Cod. B.

ΤΕΦΩΝΗΝΑΥΤΟΥΠΩ
ΠΟΤΕΔΗΚΗΚΟΔΕΟΥΤΕ
ΕΙΔΟCΑΥΤΟΥΕΩΡΑΚΑΤΕ
ΚΑΙ ΤΟΝΛΟΓΟΝΑΥΤΟΥ
ΟΥΚΕΧΕΤΕΕΝΥΜΙΝΜΕ
ΝΟΝΤΑΟΤΙΟΝΑΠΕΤΕΙ
ΛΕΝΕΚΕΙΝΟCΤΟΥΤΩ
ΥΜΕΙCΟΥ ΠΙCΤΕΥΕΤΕ
ΕΡΑΥΝΑΤΕΤΑCΓΡΑΦΑC
ΟΤΙΥΜΕΙCΔΟΚΕΙΤΕΕΝ
ΑΥΤΑΙC ΖΩΗΝΔΙΩΝΙΩ
ΕΧΕΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΚΕΙΝΑΙ ΕΙCΙΝ

Line 41, ΠΑΤΗΡΕΚΕΙΝΟC ΜΕΜΑΡ
42, ΤΥΡΗΚΕΝΠΕΡΙΕΜΟΥ

ΑΙΜΑΡΤΥΡΟΥCΑΙ ΠΕΡΙ
ΕΜΟΥ ΚΑΙΟΥΘΕΛΕΤΕΕΛ. Line 14

The influence of the second page on the first has produced *ἐκεῖνος* in the first line for *αὐτός*. The two readings are undoubtedly early, since they are conflated in Cod. D into *ἐκεῖνος αὐτός* (perhaps *ἐκεῖνος* corrected over line to *αὐτός*). I suppose we must call the reading *αὐτός* Western and Syrian. In spite of this it seems to be correct.

As an illustration from the Pauline Epistles we may take 1 Cor. ix 9, where *οὐ φιμώσεις βοῦν ἀλοῶντα* is by some copies corrected to *οὐ κημώσεις κτέ*, under the influence of *κηφῆς* in v. 5, where the syllable *κη* may have been the last syllable in a line, as it is in Cod. B to this day.

From the Catholic Epistles we give the following from James (in which epistle there are at least five). The instance is taken from the pages as we have tried to restore them:

p. 33, line 9, ΚΥ ΙΔΟΥΟΓΕΩΡΓΟCΕΚ
ΙΟ, ΔΕΧΕΤΑΙ ΤΟΝ ΤΙΜΙΟΝ
ΙΙ, ΚΑΡΠΟΝ

p. 34, line 9, ΛΑΒΕΤΕΔΕΛΦΟΙΤΗC
ΙΟ, ΜΑΚΡΟΘΥΜΙΑCΤΟΥCΠΡΟ
ΙΙ, ΦΗΤΑC

In this passage (Iac. v 10), Cod. 13 by aberration reads after *μακροθυμίας* the impossible *δέχετε*, which has been softened to *ἔχετε* by A. N^o. 5.40 mg. 73, and the Ethiopic version.

In the Epistle of Jude, short as it is, there is a curious aberration which has much confused the text; the word *ἀπαξ* of the 3d verse

having crept into the beginning of the fifth. We have no room to give the pages in full.

It must be admitted that these errors afford us great assistance in the restoration of the early text-forms, and in the intimately connected problem of the genealogy of the witnesses that remain to us. We shall show first the way in which early forms may, by the means indicated, be *theoretically* restored.

Let us then, in the first place, imagine to ourselves a MS written uniformly, so that there are m letters to a line, and n lines to a page. And suppose that after a certain number of transcriptions in this form a new pattern of script is introduced, consisting of p letters to the line, and q lines to the page; and so on continually, the forms being allowed to persist longer in the earlier copies than in the later ones, although this is not a necessary part of the following argument. Then let us ask ourselves what kinds of errors are most likely to present themselves in the successive and final texts, assuming them to be copied by scribes of average carefulness. In the first place, we notice that the first copy made being liable to the eye-error of vertical aberration (generally induced by similarity of the letters in separate lines) will exhibit a majority of errors, which are either m letters in length or a multiple of m , such as $2m$, $3m$, etc. The m -errors will, however, by far predominate. And each successive transcription will cause these errors to accumulate, until after a little time the mere registration of the variants would be sufficient to indicate the original form of the text, even if that form should be deserted. And now let the form be changed to that indicated by the letters p , q . The same thing will occur here, and we shall have an accumulation of p -errors, which, like the former ones, soon become by their multiplicity self-betraying as to the form of text in which they were made. And so we might carry the matter forward. Finally, if we denote the MSS which have adhered to the first form by the letters M_1, M_2, \dots , those which have adhered to the second form by P_1, P_2, \dots , to the third by S_1, S_2, \dots and so on, we shall have the following results upon classifying the variants of all existing copies, viz. the insertions in or omissions from a standard text:

(1) A number of copies will exhibit, among the variants, a preference for variants of a given length, which is found to be m -letters.

(2) Another group of copies will exhibit a preference for errors of two given lengths, viz. m, p .

(3) A third group will suggest errors of lengths of *m*, *p*, *s*. And so on, the phenomena rapidly tending to obscure one another.

In determining which of these errors, from a standard text, to reject or accept, we must remark as follows: it is perfectly easy to omit a line of a text in copying it; but to add foreign matter to it, which shall precisely be equivalent to a line of the text, may be assumed to be very unlikely; and, therefore, the majority of a group of equivalent errors whose length is equal to a line of the text are pure omissions. The only case in which this breaks down will be the following: Suppose that a given line of a copy has been affected by some scribe's stupidity, so as materially to change the sense without affecting the length (as by the substitution of two or three letters from a wrong line), and that by the subsequent correction of the passage two readings have been placed in close relation, it frequently happens that the real line and the erroneous line which is equal in length to it, both combine to form a new reading, which has thus increased the text by one of its own lines. This phenomenon is known by the name of conflation. Setting aside the phenomenon of conflation, then, we say that the line-errors of a codex to which it shows a peculiar liability are *omissions*, and not *additions*. In dealing, therefore, with our groups of MSS, we must first restore to the texts denoted by the letter M, their *m*-line omissions; similarly with the P-texts and the S-texts, etc. As soon as the texts come to be broken up into a non-uniform script, the above reasoning fails, except in so far as it shows original errors conserved from the various forms through which the text has passed.

The relative antiquity of the texts, supposed uncomplicated by mixture, will then appear at once by the consideration that the M-texts have no *p*-errors, while the P-texts show both *p*-errors and *m*-errors, and, therefore, in the discussion of any given error, the M-texts have the greater weight, except in the discussion of *m*-errors. We must now return to the original text, and remark that not only is such a text, when copied, liable to line-aberrations, *m*-letters, *2m*, etc.; but there is a danger of aberration from column to column, or from one column of writing to another two columns distant. These errors, which are far more frequent than is generally supposed, will, when they can be recognized, supply intervals whose average is *mn*-letters, or *2mn*, etc.; and by means of these errors we can restore the original page; *mn* being given by the lateral aberration and *m* by the average vertical aberration.

A succession of copies will now exhibit as follows: the copies

marked M will exhibit long aberrations (in which must also be included transpositions of early pages) of an average length mn : the P-copies will exhibit average errors pq as well as by inheritance, errors of length mn : and so on. By repeating the error of aberration, whose measure is mn , the P-copies again demonstrate the M-type to be the earlier, and in this way a firm grasp may be obtained over the genealogy of the group of MSS which are placed under our consideration.

The advantage of this method is that it is purely scientific: a careful observation, for instance, will show that the New Testament documents grow smaller and smaller, both as to lines and pages, as we come nearer to the first centuries; and, therefore, the more nearly do they of necessity approach to fixed types of writing, as to length of line and page. The margin of variation of size being thus diminished, it would be possible to pick out the earliest sizes by the aid of the earlier errors, even if there were not, as we believe there is, a peculiar reason for the adoption of lines of given length. Moreover, we must not forget that, however little modern documents seem to lend themselves to the theory of aberration by lateral error, the case is widely different when the columns are narrow, and when, as in a papyrus document, many of them may be under the eye at once. Assuming, then, the existence of the vertical and lateral aberrations, we proceed to apply our argument practically to the determination of the texts and text-forms of the New Testament. We begin as follows:

Conflate Readings.

From what has been already said it appears important that, as far as possible, we should remove from the examination those phenomena which are due to conflation of separate readings. If we can do this in any particular book, or MS of that book, we shall have taken at once a step in the classification of the MSS which furnish the contending members of the conflation, and in many cases we shall obtain a clue to the original structure of the copy in which the conflation occurs.

It is well known that the most powerful part of Dr. Hort's great Introduction to the New Testament consists in the exposition of eight cases of conflation in the early texts of Mark and Luke. Nothing has been more fiercely assailed, nor as yet with less success, than this stronghold of the new textual system. All that Burgon and Cook have been able to do in attempting to demolish the cumulative argument of Dr. Hort, by the denying each instance

of conflation in detail, has been the maximum of effort and the minimum of result. For, it may be observed, it is not necessary to Dr. Hort's theory that the whole of these eight conflations should be verified; a single one, correct in all its details, would prove the chronological subordination of the texts which give combined readings to those which do not make the combination. And, moreover, there are certain considerations which present themselves at once to an enquiring mind: granted that there are groups of manuscripts say P, Q, R, which exhibit the peculiarity that R has readings combined out of separate readings in P and Q, so that we are shut up to the hypothesis either of a conflation on the part of R, or of two separate alternative omissions on the part of P and Q, surely the quicker way to upset the conflation hypothesis would be to bring forward some case in which such a group as Q had united readings out of P and R. But this has not been done, for the simple reason that no such phenomena are forthcoming. If they were, would they not be a *reductio ad absurdum* for the theory of conflation?

The fact of the matter is that the conflations cannot be wholly denied; and the conclusions which follow almost as a matter of course, from their admission, can only be evaded by a more careful examination of the argument, especially of one point, which both Dr. Burgon and Dr. Hort seem to me to have unhappily missed. It is well known that after Dr. Hort has divided his authorities into the three camps which he designates by the names Neutral, Western, and Syrian, that he rejects the Syrian readings on the ground of conflation, and the Western readings on account of multitudinous eccentricities to which the texts that contain them are liable. It is this last step to which I object. I agree to one group of witnesses being rejected or undervalued for proved or probable fabrication of text, but think the other group has been unduly depreciated. And in order to settle the question for myself, I have tried to go more closely into the case, especially in the following points: (i) Why are all the typical conflations in Mark and Luke, and none out of Matthew? (ii) Whence did the separate members of the conflated text arise, since both of them by hypothesis cannot be original?

To the first of these questions I have not been able to give an answer, however convinced I may be by the law of probabilities as to the antecedent unlikeliness of the existing circumstances. To the second, however, I find myself able to reply in some measure. And perhaps my explanation will not only throw some light on

the history of the text, but will be an illustration of the great canon of criticism, of which all the others are only uncertain and variable expressions, that *when the cause of a variant is known the variant itself disappears*.

The first thing, then, that we notice about the texts which are said to be conflated is the fundamental equality which generally prevails in the separate members.

Taking, for instance, the simplified texts, to which we are led by the analysis of Dr. Hort, we find, Mark vi 33, the readings *καὶ προῆλθον αὐτούς, καὶ συνῆλθον αὐτοῦ*. The first of these readings is 17 letters, the second is 16.

The second passage is Mark viii 26. It turns upon the variants

Μηδὲ εἰς τὴν κώμην εἰσελθῆς,

and

Μηδενὶ εἶπῃς εἰς τὴν κώμην.

Of these the first part is 23 letters, and the second 22.

The third passage is Mark ix 38: the alternative members of which are *καὶ ἐκωλύομεν αὐτόν, ὅτι οὐκ ἀκολουθεῖ ἡμῖν* and *ὅς οὐκ ἀκολουθεῖ μεθ' ἡμῶν, καὶ ἐκωλύομεν αὐτόν*. The first of these is 36 letters, the second is 38.

The fourth passage is more difficult to handle critically, and as I do not want to force the texts to prove a theory, I omit it.

It appears, therefore, that of four passages selected to illustrate conflation in the Gospel of Mark, three exhibit an almost exact equality of the separate members. (I omit those in Luke for the present.) Now I think it will be admitted that it is not a mere chance that this equality subsists; upon the theory which asserts conflation it becomes almost inexplicable that this peculiarity should be so prominent, unless it be admitted that one of the separate members is an early and slight distortion of the other; an assumption which is almost implied in the theory of a single ancient text, from which all existing texts have been derived.

And so we come back to the question, *how did one element of a conflate text arise out of the other?*—a point upon which I have meditated often and long; sometimes proposing to myself the hypothesis of different translations of an early Aramaic text and sometimes giving the thing up as an insoluble riddle. However, the fundamental feature of the passages examined being their equality, it seems most reasonable to go back and seek the origin of the various readings in the simplest solution, a scribe's blunder. Let us examine Mark vi 33. We have, writing the verse out,

ΚΑΙ ΕΙΔΟΝ ΑΥΤΟΥΣ ΥΠΑ
 ΓΟΝΤΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΓΝΩΣΑΝ
 ΠΟΛΛΟΙ ΚΑΙ ΠΕΖΗΔΟ
 ΠΑΣΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΠΟΛΕΩΝ ΚΑΙ
 ΣΥΝΕΔΡΑΜΟΝ ΕΚΕΙ ΚΑΙ
 ΠΡΟΗΛΘΟΝ ΑΥΤΟΥΣ ΚΤΕ

It will be observed, on writing the text in this way, that the concurrence of *καὶ* at the end of two successive lines invites the vertical error *συν* for *προ*, and produces at once the necessary second variant, from which all the rest, and the conflated texts, can be derived. The error is, therefore, at once explained by the assumption of an early text written in lines of 16-18 letters each. It is this form which has survived with little change in Codex B, which has preserved the correct reading, and thus vindicates itself as an early text, more ancient than those of the same type as itself in which a particular error was made. And, on the other hand, the Western texts are shown to bear witness that this is one of the primitive forms of the text, by the fact that they have preserved the error made in that form. On both grounds Dr. Hort's conclusion as to the superiority of the text of B is in this case confirmed. As soon as this instance has been settled, we see the reason of the third selected conflation, Mark ix 38. We have only to write the text as follows:

ΕΚΒΑΛΛΟΝΤΑΣ ΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑ
 ΟΣΟΥ ΚΑΚΟΛΟΥΘΕΙ ΗΜΙ
 ΚΑΙ ΕΚΩΛΥΟΜΕΝ ΑΥΤΟ
 ΟΤΙ ΟΥ ΚΑΚΟΛΟΥΘΕΙ ΗΜΙ

to see that in a text, written 18 letters to the line, a line has been accidentally repeated, or has first been moved over another line, and then conflated into a new reading. But in this case we cannot affirm with certainty which of the two separate readings is the earlier. All that we can say is that the text which lends itself most readily to the production of error is one written in lines of 18 letters. But it lends itself almost as readily to the production of error on the hypothesis that the longer recension is the correct one. We must not be positive that because Cod. B has followed very nearly the 18-line type, therefore its reading is the more ancient and correct one, for the omission of 18 letters is just the error to which that text is liable.

The fourth conflation may be explained in the same way. The text in Mark ix 49 may be conjectured to have stood as follows:

ΚΑΙΤΟ

ΠΥΡΟΥΣΒΕΝΝΥΤΑΙΠΑΣΑ

ΘΥΣΙΑΔΙΑΛΙΘΗCΕΤΑΙ

and by an error of the scribe three letters from a preceding line were repeated, making *πυρί*, and the final *α* of *θυσία* was immediately absorbed in the two similar succeeding letters. From this the repeated *αλι* was dropped, and a connecting particle introduced by some MSS, although we find *αλι* retained after *πυρι* by Cod. X. Cod. K is taken from a Greek exemplar which read *πᾶσα* (? γὰρ) *θυσία ἀναλωθήσεται*, which is, as Dr. Hort points out, a corruption of the preceding.

In this case then, the judgment seems to be in favor of the Western MSS, and the far-fetched reference to the book of Leviticus as an inducing cause of error may be rejected. The error being of the length of 18 letters may be corrected without severely lowering the high estimate we have of the value of the neutral text. We have now discussed all except one of the confections cited from the Gospel of Mark, and shall be able to do something presently towards the investigation of the genealogical relations of the documents. We will leave the other passage for the present. All that we have shown thus far is the existence of early 18-line texts of Mark which are a sufficient explanation of several important errors. Let us now go on to examine a passage in Luke which will illustrate the doctrine of the lateral aberrations.

The eighth conflation of Dr. Hort occurs in the last verse of Luke, in which we have the two readings *αἰνούντες τὸν θεόν* and *εὐλογούντες τὸν θεόν*. We seek to explain one reading by the other.

Let us write out at length the last three verses of Luke as they stand at the close of the gospel in the Codex Sinaiticus :

Col. 4.

Line 13, ΚΑΙ ΕΓΕΝΕΤΟ ΕΝ
 ΤΩ ΕΥΛΟΓΙΝΑΥΤΩ
 ΑΥΤΟΥΣ ΔΙΕCΤΗ
 ΑΠΑΥΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΥ
 ΤΟΙ ΠΡΟCΚΥΝΗΣΑ
 ΤΕCΑΥΤΟΝ ΥΠΕC
 ΤΡΕΨΑΝΤΟ ΕΙC ΙΕΡΟΥ
 CΑΛΗΜ ΜΕΤΑΧΑ
 ΡΑC ΜΕΓΑΛΗC ΚΑΙ
 ΗCΑΝ ΔΙΑΠΑΝΤΟC
 ΕΝ ΤΩ ΙΕΡΩ ΕΥΛΟ
 ΓΟΥΝΤΕC ΤΟΝ ΘΝ

Col. 4.

Line 11, ΤΑC ΧΙΡΑC ΑΥΤΟΥ
 12, ΥΛΟΓΗCΕΝ ΑΥΤΟΥC

Here we find that the *εὐλογοῦντες* has come in, by lateral aberration to the last page from the last page but one. The explanation is perfect. (Tischendorf saw that this word was the cause of the error and corrected his text accordingly against the Sinaitic Codex.) We infer: (1) that the early page of Luke was not substantially different from a quarter of the column of the Codex Sinaiticus; (2) that in this case the neutral texts must be subordinated to the Western texts, which have preserved the correct reading; (3) there is a probability that the archaic line was also not very different to that of the Sinaiticus. We need hardly say that this result will very much reverse the method in which the materials of the text are handled in the Gospel of Luke. It will enhance the authority of the Sinaitic text in Luke, though not to the same extent as if the MS had avoided the error.

From this point we can go on to discuss the seventh conflation, Luke xii 18, in which we are confronted with the four readings:

B T L X mem. 346)	TONCITON[MOY]	? 11 letters.
a. c. d. e. m.	ΤΟΥΚΑΡΠΟΥΣΜΟΥ	14 "
(N D. b. ff. r. q and all Syrian texts)	ΤΑΓΕΝΗΜΑΤΑΜΟΥ	13 "
B. T. L. X. mem. and all Syrian texts)	ΚΑΙΤΑΑΓΘΑΜΟΥ	13 "

It is needless to say that we cannot take all these readings: we remark that they are almost all line-lengths, according to the previous hypotheses. Giving especial weight to the actual reading of **N**, we feel tolerably sure that *τὰ γενήματά μου* is a line of text. In the next place we remark that the first line is not complete without a *καὶ*. For it is certainly either a line dropped, or one substituted for another line of known length, 12-14 letters. The second line is an assimilation to what has just been written, while *τὰ ἀγαθά* looks like an anticipation of *πολλὰ ἀγαθά* immediately following. Suppose, then, we read:

τὸν σῖτόν μου καὶ τὰ γενήματά μου

(which is preserved only in Cod. 346).

Now the fact that *καὶ* was necessary to the completeness of the first line, shows it to be a genuine part of the text, and not an alternative line hooked on to another of the same length. Moreover, of the four MSS 13. 69. 124. 346, the first three read *τὸν σῖτόν μου καὶ τὰ ἀγαθά μου*, while the fourth reads *τὸν σῖτόν μου καὶ τὰ γενήματά μου*. This shows that *τὰ γενήματά μου* and *τὰ ἀγαθά μου* are alternative readings, of which the former has evidently the preference for us,

as it had for the scribe-corrector in 346. The conflation then consists in the union of the last two readings by the Syrian text, while at the same time the first limb of the sentence is dropped.

The discussion of those conflate readings which we are able to interpret, with any degree of certainty, leads us to the conclusion that it is impossible to predict correct readings as infallibly belonging to either group of manuscripts representing the relatively simple readings. The Western readings are found to vindicate for themselves a purity and antiquity which is, in certain cases, greater than that of the neutral readings. They cannot, therefore, be wholly rejected or used in the supplementary manner in which Westcott and Hort employ them. A reading is not to be rejected as Western and Syrian merely because it is Western and Syrian, for either the probabilities against such readings have been overestimated or the results of the textual examination have been too hastily generalized. The peculiar character of the Western text can, moreover, be eliminated to a certain extent, by remarking that its errors are those which are incidental to rapid transcription, and the causes of the separate mistakes can often be detected. For instance, in Mark xv 34, the reading of certain Western texts is *ὠνειδίσας* for *ἐγκυτέλιπες*. Now this reading might plausibly be claimed as a modification of the more difficult thought of divine desertion, or as an assimilation to other passages of the quoted Psalm. But it is more likely only an aberration to the *ὠνειδίζον αὐτόν* of the 32d verse, the interval between the confused words being 161 letters. When we have recognized the error in the Western text as a simple transcriptional blunder, how does the discovery prove license and corruption in the remaining Western readings? And if a number of them can be explained in this innocent manner, will not our estimate of the Western readings generally change? At least the margin of wilful and artificial change will be much reduced. We hope to have more to say on this important subject at no distant date.

J. RENDEL HARRIS.

IV.—FOUR ETYMOLOGICAL NOTES.

1. *Latin usque : Vedic dcchā.*

Modern etymologists agree in regarding the word as derived from the relative stem *quo-* and *que*, the enclitic. So Bopp² II 208, states that *usquam*, *uspīam* and *usque* contain the stem *cu-* for *quo*. Pott, *Etymologische Forschungen*, I² 288, explains *usque* as coming from a form like *ubique* with additional *s*, before which *b* was lost as in *sus-que* from *subs*. Corssen, in *KZ*, III 292, thinks that *usque*, etc., contain a contraction of *ubi-s*, i. e. *ubi* and *s*, the reduced comparative suffix *ius*; in this he is followed by Vaniček in the last editions of his etymological lexicons. The same author, in his *Aussprache, Vokalismus, und Betonung der lateinischen Sprache*,² II 838, still starts from *ubi-s*, but regards the *s* as a locative ending, as in *sus* for *subs*.¹ In the face of such weighty authority it seems certainly venturesome to advance a novel opinion; yet I cannot refrain from pointing out the coincidence in form and meaning of the two adverbs compared in the heading.

For the Vedic adverb *dcchā* there is no etymology which has been generally accepted by Sanskritists. Ascoli, *Studj Ario-Semitici*, §15, speaks of *a-ska*, in which *a* is the original form of the root *i*, 'to go.' Benfey, in his review of Böthlingk's *Chrestomathy in the Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen* of 1846 (p. 82 of the reprint), later in his glossary to the *Sāma-Veda*, p. 5, in his *Quantitätsverschiedenheiten in den Saṁhitā- und Pada-texten*, p. 5, and in his *Vedica und Verwandtes*, p. 137, explains *dcchā* as a Prākritic form of *akṣā*, a Vedic instrumental from *akṣa*, 'eye,' in the sense of 'visible to the eye,' *coram*. Without venturing upon any explanation of the first element in the word, I would draw attention to the fact that *us-que* and *dcchā* correspond almost perfectly as far as the sounds are concerned, if we start from a ground-form *os-que* (*qu* being the velar guttural). Latin *u* = Sanskrit *a* and Indo-European *o*, we have in *umerus* = Sk. *aṁsa*

¹ A slightly different explanation is given by Benfey, *Griechisches Wurzellexicon*, II 147, for *usquam*. He explains the *us* as equal to *cut* (Sanskrit *kat-*). Older writers give fanciful etymologies: Caesar Scaliger derives *usque* from Greek *ὤς* and *κε*; De Vit's Forcellini suggests that it may be a hybrid word from Greek *ὤς* and Latin *que*. An explanation from *ad + que* is occasionally met with.

=Greek ὄμος for *ὄμσος; *ferunt* for **feronti*=Sk. *bhādranti*=Doric φέρωντι; *equus*=Sk. *dēvas*=Gr. ἵππος, etc.; the combination *squ* would appear in Sanskrit as *cch*.

ācchā is employed in two very distinct functions: (1) with verbs of speaking; (2) with verbs of motion. In the latter value it coincides quite extensively with the prominent functions of *usque*, e. g. in the two sentences: tvām . . . nadyā indra sātave *ācchā* samudrām asṛjaḥ . . . (RV, I 130, 5), 'Thou, O Indra, didst let loose the rivers to flow to the ocean'; and, In ultimam provinciam se coniecit Tarsum *usque* (Cicero). Still more noteworthy is the parallelism between the combinations: *usque in*, *usque ad* and *ācchā dbhi*, *ācchā ā ācchā ūd*. Note their parallel use in the following sentences: ārvān iva . . . *ācchā* indrasya *dbhi* vītim arṣa (RV, IX 97, 25), 'Run to the feast of Indra like a race horse'; and: Mittere legatos ad eum *usque in* Pamphyliam (Cicero); cf. also from the Atharva-Veda (XII 4, 14): tām vaçām . . . *ācchā ā* yanti (brāhmaṇāḥ): 'The Brahmans come up to that wonderful cow.' In the same way the following pair of sentences: eṣā stōmo mārutam cārdho *ācchā* rudrāsya sūnūn yuvanyūn ūd aṇyāḥ (RV, V 42, 15): 'May this song of praise reach up to the host of the Maruts, to the youthful sons of Rudra,' and: Ab imis unguibus *usque ad* verticem summum (Cicero). Another example of the use of *ācchā ā* is: āta ā yāhy adhvarām no *ācchā* (RV, I 101, 8), 'Then come on to our sacrifice.'

If we consider, in addition, that there is nowhere a trace of a consonantal initial to be found for either *usque*, *usquam* or *uspīam* (*n-us-quam* not *ne-cus-quam*, as e. g. *ne-cubi* and *ne-cuter*), we may be better satisfied to regard the *us* with which these words begin as a particle *os-* in its I. E. form, even if it is for the present impossible to find any further light on its origin and value.

2. πέπων, 'ripe,' and πέπων, 'mild, weak.'

The lexicons and grammars (e. g. Pott, Etymologische Forschungen, II¹ 174; Curtius, Etymologie,² p. 466; Vaniček, Griechisch-Lateinisches Wurzelwörterbuch, p. 455) treat πέπων, in all its meanings, as one and the same word, deriving all values from the primary one of 'cooked, ripe.' So also Liddell and Scott's Lexicon: I. 'ripe' opposed to ὠμός, 'raw.' II. 'soft, mild, gentle,' as e. g. in πέπων Καπανηιάδη (Il. 5, 109); ὁ πέπων (Il. 6, 55); κριέ πέπων (Od. 9, 447); finally in a bad sense, 'soft, weak,' ὁ πέπων, ὁ Μενέλαε (Il. 6, 55); ὁ πέπωνες, 'ye weaklings.' Two objections must be made to

this development of meanings: first, the word in the sense of 'ripe' does not occur in Homer and Hesiod at all, but appears first in Herodotus in that sense; secondly, the development of the meanings is not very natural, as we can judge from the metaphorical uses of English 'ripe' and German 'reif.'

πέπων, in the sense of 'ripe,' has been identified correctly with Sanskrit *pakvā* from the first days of modern etymology. That πέπων in the values given under II must be separated from πέπων, 'ripe,' = *pakvā*, was first suggested to me by an old sacrificial formula from the Tāittirīya-saṅhitā, III 2, 4, 4: ahe dāidhiṣavya ud atas tiṣṭha anyasya sadane sīda yo asmat *pākatarah*. The words are addressed by the Brahman about to seat himself on the sacrificial straw to an imaginary occupant, who is supposed to be seated upon it: 'O Dāidhiṣavya rise from here, seat yourself upon the seat of another who is *younger* (or *weaker*) than we are.' This word *pāka* I would identify with πέπων in its second set of values.

pāka occurs as an adjective in the sense of 'young'; next 'young of an animal,' 'child,' e. g. dhenuḥ *pākavatsā*, 'a cow with a young calf.' Then, 'simple,' both in the sense of 'upright,' and in the sense of 'foolish,' e. g. utā trātā 'si *pākasyā* 'tho thānā 'si rakṣasaḥ (AV, IV 19, 3), 'Thou art the protector of the *innocent*, but the slayer of the demon'; kīm te *pākāḥ* kṛṇavad āpracetaḥ (RV, X 7, 6), 'What good can the *fool* (cf. German *simpel*) without intelligence do to you?' Cf. also RV, I 164, 5; III 9, 7, etc.

Now the earlier meanings of πέπων in Homer and Hesiod, 'soft, mild, weak,' are much nearer to those of *pāka* than those of *pakvā*. Thus there is no reason why the phrase κριὲ πέπων should not be translated 'my *little* ram,' or 'my *good* ram'; with this we would then compare the use of *pāka* in RV, X 7, 6 (see above). And the use of πέπων in the phrase ὦ πέπωνες seems directly equivalent to the use of *pāka-tara* in the formula from the Tāittirīya-saṅhitā. As far as the form of the Greek words is concerned, both πέπων = *pāka*, and πέπων = *pakvā*, have been transferred to the weak declension (n-declension) in Greek; cf. αἶών (stem αἰών-) to Sanskrit *ēvas*, Latin *aevum* (stem *aivo-*) and Gothic *aiva-*; in Greek itself στραβός, στραβών, and also the Sanskrit doublet *pīvan-* (πῖφον-) and *pīva*, Zend *mareta-* (= Sk. mṛtā-, βροτός) and *maretan-*. See Osthoff, Forschungen im gebiete der nominalen Stammbildung, II 13-29. As the *ā* of *pāka* would more regularly appear as Greek

o, it may be assumed that an older *πόπο-, *πόπων (cf. Homeric δ ποποῖ or δ πόποι?) assimilated its first vowel to that of πέπων, 'ripe.'

3. On a Probable Equivalent in Sanskrit of the Greek Particle $\alpha\pi$, $\rho\alpha$.

In a paper which Brugmann presented to the Saxon Academy, at a meeting held on the 23d of April, 1883, and which was printed in the proceedings for that year, p. 37, the effort is made to find in Lithuanian ir a particle etymologically and functionally identical with the Greek particles named in the heading.¹ As the necessary pendant to this etymological attempt, Brugmann gives a pretty complete survey of the functional domain of the Greek and Lithuanian words. I believe that a third language of the family, the Sanskrit, has also preserved a trace of this particle.

From the Rig-Veda through to the classical period of the language there are found a few adverbs of time formed by adding the suffix *-rhi* to certain pronominal stems: *kārhi*, *tārhi*, *etārhi*, *yārhi*, *amūrhi*. These seem to be made with the suffix *-rhi* much in the same way as other temporal adverbs, e. g. with suffix *dā*: *kadā*, *tadā*, *yadā*, and accordingly the grammars (e. g. Whitney, §1103c) project a suffix *-rhi*, which is certainly very remarkable when considered in the light of the remaining formative material of the language. I believe that this *-rhi* consists of the two particles r and *hi* = Greek $\alpha\pi + \gamma\epsilon$, which are added to homophonous instrumentals of the several pronominal stems, used as adverbs of time. That the instrumental is a case capable of being employed as an adverb of time in Sanskrit can be seen from: e. g. *niçā*, 'by night,' *divā*, 'by day,' *antareṇa*, 'in the mean time,' etc. Accordingly, *etārhi* is equal to *etā + r + hi*, which fuse regularly to *etārhi*. For the homophonous instrumental *etā* which is assumed here compare *ama*, 'at home,' stem *dma-*; *anā*, 'then,' stem *ana-*; *sānā*, 'of yore,' stem *sāna-*, etc.

The familiar particle *hi*, 'for,' etc., which often fades out into mere emphatic use, is generally identified with Greek $\gamma\epsilon$. The relation of the three Greek forms $\alpha\pi$, $\alpha\pi$ and $\rho\alpha$ is explained by Brugmann as follows: $\alpha\pi$ is the same particle as $\alpha\pi$, $\rho\alpha$ in a strong form; it is formally identical with the post-Homeric interrogative particle $\alpha\pi$, and through it again identical with the Lithuanian ar , Lettish *ari* and *ar*, which are also interrogative particles. $\alpha\pi$ and

¹ Cf. also Pott, Etymologische Forschungen, I⁹ 703.

ῥά, according to Brugmann, are weak forms of the same particle and equal to Lithuanian *ir*.

Rather is *āpa* to be kept aloof from *āpa*, which latter may be well identified with the interrogatives *ār*, *ari*; there is no good reason for forcing both back to the same origin. The original form or forms of the non-interrogative particle, the illative or consecutive one, is *āp* and *ῥά*. This is to be seen from *αὐτάρ* and *γάρ* from Lithuanian *ir*, which is exactly equal to Greek *āp* or *ῥά* (e. g. *ketvirtas* = *τέταρτος*, *τέταρτος*), and if our conjecture holds good, to the *r* of *-rhi*. Brugmann seems to overlook the fact that *āp*, *ῥά*, when equal to Lithuanian *ir* cannot come from any other strong form than **ēp*, Lithuanian **er*, as is shown by the relation of Lithuanian *sirgti* : *sergù*, *pìrkti* : *perkù*, Lettish *pirst* : *perdù* (cf. *ἐπαρδον* and *ἐπραδον* : *πέρδω*); see Leskien, 'Die Praesensbildungen des Slavischen,' in the *Archiv für Slavische Philologie*, V 523. It seems to me that *āpa* is a secondary, that is a syncretic form from *āp* and *ῥά*, due to an unconscious attempt to bring in the vocalic characteristics of both words; cf. Latin *jecinoris*, syncretic product of *jecor-is* (cf. Sk. *yakṛ-t*), and **jecin-is* = Sk. *yakn-as* = *ἥπα-τ-ος*; Sanskrit *karómi*, product of Vedic *kár[āmi* and *kṛṇ]ómi*, etc. However this may be, it is certain that the ground-form of *āp*, *ῥά* is the liquid sonant *r*, and that it must formally appear as Sk. *r*; cf. *βάρδιτος* and *βράδιτος* : Sk. *mṛdús*. There is left, then, the task of accounting for the use of this *r* and *hi* in connection with the temporal adverbs. Brugmann gives, as the most general value of *āpa*, *āp* and *ῥά*, the following definition: 'They express progress or advance after an action which has preceded, and from which it (the progress) naturally springs.' So e. g. Il. 2, 16:

ὥς φάτο· βῆ δ' ἄρ' ὄνειρος, ἐπεὶ τὸν μῦθον ἄκουσεν.

Zeus had said: *βάσκ' ἴθι, οἴλε ὄνειρε*; the dream hears the word of Zeus; *then* and *therefore* he comes. It is easily seen that a prominent practical exhibition of the particle is likely to take place in connection with two consecutive statements that involve time, and this, as is well known, is very frequently the case in Greek.

But precisely this is the scope of the Sanskrit adverbs, as will be seen from the following parallel passages. Od. 5, 77:

αὐτάρ ἐπεὶ δὴ πάντα ἐφ' ἠγήσατο θυμῷ
αὐτίκ' ἄρ' εἰς εὐρὺ σπέος ἦλυθεν.

AV, III 13, 6: manye bhejāno amṛtasya *tarhi*, *hiranyavarṇā atṛpām yadā vah*, 'When I have taken my fill of you, O ye golden-colored

(waters), then I ween that I am enjoying ambrosia.' Here *tārhi* is evidently parallel with *ἀντίκ' ἄρ*. That the temporal adverb in the principal clause does not exclude the particle can be seen still more clearly, *e. g.* from the following passage, Il. 24, 788-9 :

ἦμος δ' ἡριγένεια φάνη ῥοδοδάκτυλος ἠώς
τῆμος ἄρ' ἀμφὶ πυρὴν κλυτοῦ Ἑκτορος ἤγρετο λαός.

In Sanskrit *yārhi*, the relative 'when,' is correlative with *tārhi*, 'then.' So in Aitareya-brāhmaṇa, I 27: *yārhi vāva vo mayā 'rtho bhavitā tarhy eva vo punar āgantāsmi*, 'When you shall have any use for me, then shall I again come to you.'

If these correlative adverbs do really contain an equivalent of *ἄρ*, we must assign a double value to the particle in temporal sentences: Not only does it appear in the principal clause of two temporal clauses in hypotactic construction, indicating that the principal clause springs naturally from the subordinate clause, but the particle has also the power of indicating proleptically in the subordinate clause that the principal one will spring from it. Now precisely that seems to be the value of the particle, *e. g.* in the passages Od. 11, 1-2, and Il. 24, 32-3:

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ῥ' ἐπὶ νῆα κατήλθομεν ἠδὲ θάλασσαν
νῆα μὲν ἄρ' ἀμπρωτον ἐρύσσαμεν εἰς ἅλα διαν.
ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ ῥ' ἐκ τοῖο δυωδεκάτῃ γένητ' ἠώς
καὶ τότε ἄρ' ἀθανάτοισι μετῴδα Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων.

The use of *hi* = *γέ* in addition to *ῥ* = *ἄρ*, is probably only one more exhibition of the fondness, which the older forms of Sanskrit exhibit, for aggregation of particles, as *e. g.* Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa, II 2, 2, 20: *tad u ha aṇi aruṇam āupaveṇim jñātaya ācuh*, 'Now the kinsmen spake to Aruṇa Aupaveṇi' (Eggeling's translation). Here the four words *tad u ha aṇi* are rendered by a careful translator by the single word 'now.' The restriction of the particle *ῥ* from a general use to a special use in temporal clauses, and there, moreover, only in connection with those particular adverbs of time, represents no new principle. It is the same as is exhibited in the restriction of *e. g.* *ἐπι* to adverbial and prepositional use in Greek, while in Sanskrit *āpi* is both adverb, preposition, emphatic particle, interrogative word, and even interjection.

4. ἀμβλακεῖν: Sanskrit *mlecchati*.

The verbal material which clusters about ἀμβλακεῖν may be divided into two divisions: 1. Primary aoristic verbal forms, which

make up the bulk of the forms occurring: ἡμπλακον in Simonides of Ceos, Aesch., Soph., Eur., ἡμβλακον in Archilochus; subj. ἀμπλάκω in Soph.; ἀμπλακῶν¹ in Pind.; ἀμπλακεῖν in the tragic fragments. 2. Formations evidently made secondarily upon the stem ἀμβλακέ- ἀμβλακό- abstracted from the aorist-formations; most of which are very late. The present ἀμβλακίσκω quotable twice from Theages in Stobaeus Floril. I 67, 68; once also from Phintys in Stob. Floril. LXXIV 61. It is formed with the present-suffix -σκω in its secondary value, like *e. g.* the late ἐκ-γαμίσκω, ὀφλίσκω, etc.; ἀμπλακίσκω cannot be quoted; ἡμπλάκεται, Aesch. Upon this ἡμπλάκεται and the verbal adj. (ἀν-) ἀμπλάκητος, Aesch., the lexicons have constructed pres. ἀμπλακέω, fut. ἀμπλακήσω, which, according to Veitch, Greek Verbs, Irregular and Defective, p. 62, are not quotable. It is clear that the non-aoristic forms represent nothing but a faltering attempt to extend the base of the aorist ἀμβλακέ-, ἀμβλακό- into an entire tense-system; this is also true of those nominal formations which most clearly attach themselves to this group: ἀμπλάκημα and ἀμπλακία. The kernel of this entire group, which alone deserves to be considered in an etymological discussion, is the aorist stem ἀμβλακό- ἀμβλακέ.

Curtius, Grundzüge,² p. 463 (followed by Vaniček, p. 718), believes that ἀμβλακεῖν or ἀμπλακεῖν is equal to 'not to grasp,' *i. e.* to miss, to err; thus dividing the word into a privative and *μβλακεῖν, 'to grasp, to seize'; identifying this *μβλακεῖν with the Hesychian βρακεῖν* συνέναι; βράξαι* συλλαβεῖν; μάρψαι* συλλαβεῖν; δυσβράκανον* δυσχερές.³ But it has been shown above that the basis of this word-group is a simple thematic, so-called second aorist, one of the oldest formations in the I. E. verbal system, and to assume that it could appear compounded with a privative is precisely equivalent to admitting the possibility of such a formation, as *e. g.* *ἀ-φέρω, 'I do not carry,' or *ἀ-πέπονθα, 'I have not suffered,' which are no more impossible than a stem ἀ-μβλακέ, 'did not grasp,' or with the aug-

¹ The writing ἀπλακῶν, which has been proposed by a number of editors for Eurip. Iphigenia at Aulis, 124; Alcestis, 241, in order to shorten the initial syllable, is evidently based upon a misconception of the value of the form, which, as will be shown, cannot be a compound word. The form ἀβροτος for ἀμβροτος, Il. 14, 78, Aesch. Prom. 2, offers but a seeming parallel; for it represents a renewed secondary composition of βροτός and a privative, which has historically nothing to do with the old Indo-European compound ἀμβροτος = Sk. *amṛta*.

² Cf. also Curtius, Verbum, II³ 10.

ment, ἡμβλακε. a privative can indeed appear in verbal forms, but it is almost superfluous to state that such verbal forms can only be denominal verbs, e. g. ἀβλεπτέω, 'not to see'; ἀβλαστέω, 'not to bud,' from ἀβλεπτος and ἀβλαστος.

While this consideration is in itself sufficient to make Curtius's explanation impossible, the actual existence of an important word-group without the initial *a*, which ought not to be separated from the stem ἀμβλακέ, is an almost equally strong proof against it. It is that group of words whose kernel is the simple root-word βλάξ, βλαῖος, 'stupid, silly, sluggish,' βλακεύω, βλακεία, βλακευμα, etc., and βληχρός (ἀβληχρός). βλάξ is a simple root-noun with old variation of accent, which was once accompanied also by change of stem-vowel, i. e. βλάξ, but *βλαῖος, like πούς (Doric πῶς): ποδός: χρώς: χροός; χθών: χθονός; σῶφρων: σῶφρονος; the strong root-form when the tone is on the suffix is the result of secondary assimilation from the nominative, as in σκῶψ: σκωπός; φῶρ: φωρός; κλώψ: κλωπός; φῶς: φωτός; cf. American Journal of Philology, III 29. The *κ* of *βλακ-*s* is radical and not suffixal, and it seems best not to unite directly with these words the remainder of the group assembled by Curtius Etym.⁵ p. 326: μαλακός, μαλθακός (the same with infixed *θ*; see Fick in the Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen for 1881, p. 1458 fg.), ἀμαλός, etc.¹ The radical syllable in these words is *μαλα*, and if we compare the couplets ταλαί-φρων and τλασίφρων; θάνατος and θνατός (Doric), etc.,² it is seen that μαλακός, etc., correspond with the Sanskrit root *mlā* (cf. *τλα-*, *θνα-*), 'to wither,' 'to be faint, languid, thin.' Whether the root of βλάξ and ἀμβλακέ- is a prehistoric extension by the so-called 'root-determinative' *κ*, is a question which we may well relegate to the chapter of the final philosophy of Indo-European root construction.³

Even an inner view of the aorist-stem ἀμβλακέ- exposes at once the fact that it belongs to that wide-spread type of lingual aorist-stems which contains the reduced root-form of a root belonging to the *e-o*-series; it is just such a formation as δρακέ- in δρακεῖν, δρακών, ἔδρακον: δέρκομαι; πραθέ-, ἔπραθον: πέρθω, and a host of others formed on the same principle. That is, precisely as the root-form of ἔδρακον

¹ If the *κ* of μαλακός (μαλαχθός) is nevertheless radical, we may draw these words also to the stem βλαῖκ, and their relation is the same as that of *ταραχή*, 'confusion'; *τράχης*, 'rough, savage.'

² Cf. Johannes Schmidt, *Vocalismus*, II 314.

³ Cf. on these words Benfey, *Wurzellexicon*, I 504; Schmidt, *Vocalismus*, II 315; Brugmann, *Morphologische Untersuchungen*, I 53.

is $\delta\rho\alpha\kappa = \delta\rho\kappa = \text{Sk. } d\gamma\gamma$, so is the root-form of $\eta\mu\beta\lambda\alpha\kappa\omicron\nu$: $\mu\beta\lambda\alpha\kappa = \mu\lambda\kappa$;¹ that the a which appears before this root is the prothetic a is contained impliedly in the connection of the stem $\acute{\alpha}\mu\beta\lambda\alpha\kappa\acute{\epsilon}-$ with the stem of $\beta\lambda\acute{\alpha}\xi$; the fact that the a appears in certain forms and does not appear in others affords no ground for doubt; cf. $\beta\rho\alpha\delta\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$: $\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\lambda\delta\acute{\upsilon}\nu\omega$, the stem of both of these resolves itself into $\mu\rho\delta-\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma = \text{Sk. } m\gamma d-\acute{u}\varsigma = \text{Lat. } mollis \text{ for } mold-u-is$.² This weak root-form $\mu\lambda\alpha\kappa$ for $\mu\lambda\kappa$ can be supplemented by two couplets of strong forms: $\mu\lambda\epsilon\kappa-\mu\lambda\omicron\kappa$ or $\mu\epsilon\lambda\kappa-\mu\omicron\lambda\kappa$; both these strong couplets would yield $\mu\lambda\alpha\kappa$ as the weak form; without the presence of strong forms in Greek it can only be decided by some kindred language which one is to be supplied. That it is the couplet $\mu\lambda\epsilon\kappa-\mu\lambda\omicron\kappa$ will be shown by the Sanskrit words with which, it is thought, the Greek group is directly related.

The Sanskrit word *mlecchati* means 'to speak indistinctly, confusedly, barbarously'; it is rendered well by the German word 'welschen,' *i. e.* to speak like a Gaul, and in the earlier days of Comparative Grammar (Leo in KZ, II 252, and others after him), *mlecchati* and *welschen* were identified. The noun *mlecchas* is the stereotyped word for barbarian 'he who babbles,' much in the same way as the Slavic, *e. g.* Polish, word for Germans is *niemiec*, 'indistinct, dumb.' Pott, *Wurzelwörterbuch*, III² 362, treats the word; he disposes of the connection with *welsch*, *welschen*, and (following Pictet, *Origines Indoeuropéennes*, p. 56) compares a group of Slavic words whose oldest representative is Old Bulgarian *mlūcati*, 'to be silent.' The radical element in this word (*mlūc*) corresponds exactly to the $\mu\lambda\kappa$ which we found in the stem $\acute{\alpha}\mu\beta\lambda\alpha\kappa\acute{\epsilon}-$; but Pott does not mention any Greek words in comparison. The apparently close resemblance to *mlecchati* is fictitious, both the vowel and the final consonants of the stem *mlecch* are thoroughly different sounds, *mlecch* ends in a double consonant *cch*, which usually represents an old combination *sk* (*gdacchāmi* = $\beta\acute{\alpha}\sigma\kappa\omega$; *pr̥cchāmi* = $\rho\omicron(r)sco$); \bar{e} can be either an *i*-diphthong or long \bar{e} ; while the \ddot{u} of *mlūcati* is merely a shva which helps to express the lingual vowel $\{$.

The Prākṛit representative of the word *mleccha* is *miliccho*, which is merely the Prākṛitized form of the Sanskrit, and offers nothing

¹ Cf. also Fick in Bezzenberger's *Beitraege*, V 168.

² The β is the well-known transition consonant as in $\mu\epsilon\sigma\eta\mu(\beta)\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha$. The fact that π interchanges with β in this stem has at least one parallel in the name of the city $\acute{\alpha}\mu\beta\rho\alpha\kappa\acute{\iota}\alpha$ and $\acute{\alpha}\mu\pi\rho\alpha\kappa\acute{\iota}\alpha$. It seems improbable that this interchange is a phonetic one: is the π due to association of the word by popular etymology with root $\pi\lambda\epsilon\kappa$ ($\epsilon\pi\lambda\acute{\alpha}\kappa\eta\nu$) or $\pi\lambda\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$?

new. More difficult, however, is the Pāli form *milakkha*, which, when translated into Sanskrit, yields most naturally a form *mlaccha*. Sanskrit *mlecchati* and *mleccha*, and Pāli *milakkha*, are treated by Ernst Kuhn, in KZ, XXV 327 (accepted by E. Müller, The Pāli Language, p. 25), in the following manner: He assumes a root *mlask*; from which a noun-stem *mlaska-* (like *φορο-* from *φερ*) would regularly turn into Sanskrit **mlaccha-*; and Pāli *milakkha* **mlaccha* became changed to *mleccha* by the analogy of **mlecchati*. Even in the face of such authority I object to an explanation of *milakkha*, which does not admit the Sanskrit word *mleccha* as a basis; the phonetic changes of the Prākṛit-Pāli dialects are too irregular, and as yet too little studied, to enable us to state categorically that the sound-group *mila-* may not directly correspond to Sanskrit *mle-*. But further, Kuhn explains *mlecchati* as an equivalent of **mlāscāti* from the same root *mlask* (*mlask*), supporting this assumption by reference to the exposition of the origin of long monophthongal *ē* as given by Joh. Schmidt, in KZ, XXV 60 fg. This passage endeavors to show that Sanskrit *e* may represent a long monophthongal vowel when it is the result of short *ĕ*, and the compensation which is frequently made when some consonant has fallen out; but if *mlechatī* is *mlesceti*, nothing has fallen out, and the change of the *ĕ* into long monophthongal *ē* remains unexplained. And Indo-European *mlesketi* (Aryan *mlāṣcāti*) can become in Sanskrit nothing but *mlacchati*, precisely as *bhereti* becomes *bharati*, or *mezgeti* (Lat. *mergo*) becomes *majjati* (*masj* in the dhātu-pāṭha).

I identify the root of *mlecchati* with the root of ἀμβλακέ-, which was above found to be I. E. *mlek*, *mlok*, *mlk*. *mlecchati* is either equivalent to **mle(k)sketi* with unusual compensatory lengthening of *ĕ* into *ē* on account of the loss of the *k*, or it is equivalent to *mla(k)skati*, *mla'cchati*, with epenthetic *i*, due to the palatal sound following. I am aware that either assumption is singular; on the one hand, surd consonants are not in the habit of leaving compensatory lengthening behind them, when they fall out; on the other, the suffix *ccha* does not elsewhere produce epenthesis of an *i*.¹ But the probability of the identity of the roots of ἀμβλακέ- and

¹ As far as can be seen at present the domain of *i*-epenthesis or *i*-umlaut in Sanskrit is very limited, being largely restricted to the cases in which an *i* is added to an *an*-stem. Of this character is the *i* of *jāimīniya*: *jemaṇ*. The MSS. and printed texts waver constantly in the orthography of the feminines from *an*-stems. Thus *Nala*, I 12: *sāudāmanī* in the Bombay edition (Bühler, Georg, Third Book of Sanskrit, 1877), but *sāudāmini* in Bopp's edition.

mlecch seems on all other grounds so great that it ought to be accepted in spite of this real difficulty.¹

The assumption that the final *k* of the root has fallen out is based upon a law the beginning of which must be referred to a period prior to the separate existence of Sanskrit. According to this law, the combination *k**sk*, resulting from the contact of the final *k* of the root with the inchoative suffix *sk*, was lightened by the loss of the first *k* to *sk*. Thus arose I. E. *pr(k')scō*, the progenitor of Sk. *prcchā-mi*, Zend *pereçā*, Old High German *forscō-n*, Latin *po(r)scō*.² Each language has preserved the final consonant of the root in formations other than the inchoative

Kāuṣika-sūtra 21, 21, four MSS read *rasa prāṇāni*, four others °*prāṇini*; *ibid.* 10, 22, *āgrahāyini* is the reading of three MSS against °*hāyāni* of four others. And in the same way the MSS. vary constantly between *bodhanī* and *bodhini*, *ḥobhani* and *ḥobhini*, *kuttini* and *kuttani*, *rohiṇi* and *rohani*, etc., cf. Bezzenberger's Beitrage, VII 73. That the palatal utterance of this epenthetic *i* can at the best have been but very slight can be seen from the fact that the secondary suffix *in*, which very probably originated from forms of the *an*-declension with *i*-epenthesis, does not palatalize a preceding guttural: *arkīn-*, *bhagīn-*, etc. (KZ, XXV 67), just as the secondary *i* of *giri* (Zend *gairi*) leaves the *g* unpalatalized. An isolated case of epenthesis is *prthivi* (also *prthvi* in the Nāighaṇṭukakāṇḍa, I 1; III 30). The *i* of *tamisra*, from *tamas*, looks at first sight as though it might be due to *i*-epenthesis emanating from the *s*, but it is hardly more than the result of weakening from *a* (suffix *-rd*); cf. Vedic *niṣi* (= *niṣt*): *nāḥ*; *ḥikvā*: root *ḥak*; *hīraṇya*: *hīri*, etc. And the assumption of Osthoff, Zur Geschichte des Perfects, p. 25 fg. (cf. also Bartholomae in KZ, XXVII 363), of *i*-epenthesis emanating from sonant *s* is unsupported by any parallel facts in the language. In Prākṛit and Pāli *i*-epenthesis occurs only in those cases in which *ā* is changed to a palatal vowel (*e*) on account of a *y* following in the next syllable: Prākṛit *peranta*, *sundera*, *achchera*=Sk. *paryanta*, *sāundarya*, *ācārya*; Pāli *seyyā*=Sk. *ṣāyā*; Pāli *ācāra*=Sk. *ācārya*; see Vararuci, III 18; Hemacandra, II 63; Lassen, Institutiones ling. prākṛit, p. 118; E. Müller, The Pali Language, pp. 6, 7.

¹ The fact that the inchoative suffix regularly takes the weak root-form (Whitney, Sk. Gramm. §608) must not be suppressed. We should rather expect **mīk-ske-ti* than **mlek-ske-ti*.

² Pott, Etym. Wbch. II 1² 623; Corssen, Aussprache Vokalismus, etc., I² 808; Schleicher, Compendium,³ p. 773; Joh. Schmidt, Vocalismus, I 65; Osthoff, Forschungen, I 124. The representatives in the separate languages of the stem *prsk-* are frequently treated like roots, making forms outside of the simple present system (O. H. G. *forsc-a*, 'quaestio'; Latin *postulāre* for **posc-tulāre*, etc.) As far as the perfects are concerned I differ from Brugmann in Techmer's Zeitschrift für allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft, I 247, in regarding the coincidence in the case of Sk. *paprccchimā* and Latin *pepo(r)scimus* (Gellius, VII 9, 9) not as accidental, but as due to an I. E. **peprskimens*, i. e. a proethnic analogical formation due to the fact that *prsk* was felt as a root.

present: Sk. *praç-na*,¹ 'question'; Gothic *fraih-na*, *frāh*, *frēhun*; Latin *prec-or*, *proc-us*, *proc-ax*. Latin *misceo*, Greek *μίσγω*, A. S. *miscian* and O. H. G. *miskan*, Old Irish *commescatar* = *miscentur* (Windisch in KZ, XXI 426), point to an inchoative present I. E. *mi(k')skō*. Cf. for the simple root Sk. *miç-ra*, Greek *μίννυμι*, Lith. *misz-ti*, Old Bulgarian *mēs-iti*, O. H. G. *meng-an*. In the individual languages many cases of the loss of a guttural before the sound-group *sk* occur: *λάσκω* for **λάκ-σκω* (cf. *ἔ-λακ-ον*), *διδάσκω* for **διδάκ-σκω* (cf. *διδακτός*), Homeric *δεδίσκομαι*, 'to greet,' root *δεικ*; *εἰσκω*, root *Feik*; *τιτύσκομαι*, root *τευχ*. Hesychius reports *ιάσκειν* 'ἀγειν' (perhaps not for **ι-άγ-σκειν*, but from root *Feχ*, to carry?) In nominal formations: *δίσκος*: *δικεῖν* and *λέσχη*: root *λεγ*. Latin *disco* for **dic-sco* and *com-pescere* for **com-percscere* (cf. the forms *comperce* = *compesce*, *compersit* and *comparsit*, Corssen, *Aus-sprache u. Vokalismus*, etc.² I 35, II 411). For other examples in the Celtic languages see KZ, XXI 426 fg.³

The quotable forms from the verb *mlecchati* are all made upon the basis of a stem *mleccha*. The grammarians report a perfect passive participle *mliṣṭa* (*mliṣṭokti*), a formation likely enough to turn up, and evidently, as is assumed by Kuhn, *loc. cit.*, an analogical formation without *guṇa*, according to the usual method of making such participles. The dhātu-pāṭha reports also for the root *mrakṣ* (usually in the meaning 'to rub'), the value *apaçabdanam*, 'to speak in a vulgar fashion.' Possibly this may have preserved a trace of the *k* assumed for *mlecch*; cf. Old Bulgarian *mlūc-(ati)* = I. E. **mlk-ēti*.

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¹ According to the grammarians, the radical noun-stem from this root is declined: Nomin. *prāt*; instrumental, and the other oblique cases, which contain endings beginning with a vowel, *prāçā* and *prācchā*, etc.

² Consonants other than *k* also fall out before the inchoative suffix with great regularity; so especially dental mutes and *s*: Zend *qīça-* = I. E. *svi(d)-skō*, 'to sweat'; Greek *πάσχω* = **πv(θ)-σκω*, also *πάσχω* on an Elian inscription; *κλώσκειν* 'ἐπικλώθων' (i. e. **κλώ(θ)-σκω*) reported by Hesychius; Lat. *esca*, 'food' (for *ed-sca* or *ed-ca*?) The Hindu grammarians regard *icch* and *ucch* as substitutes in the present system for the roots *iç* and *vas* (*uṣ*); they are, of course, present stems respectively equivalent to *i(ṣ)-cchd-*, I. E. *i(s)-skō*? Zend *iça-*, O. H. G. *eiskō-n*; Lith. *jėszkōti* and *u(ṣ)-cchd-* = Zend *uça-*; cf. Lith. *auszta*, i. e. *au(s)-sz-ta*, KZ, XVII 332. The Zend, furthermore, has *tereça-* (*fra-tereçēnti*) = I. E. **tr̥s-skō*, from root *tres*, 'to frighten.' Latin *vescor* is best explained as **ghe(s)-scō-r*, Sanskrit root *ghas*, 'to eat, to devour'; Lat. *escit* (Neue Lat. Formenlehre, II² 596), a present with the value of a future from root *es*, 'to be'; cf. the Homeric iterative *ἔσκειν*. A *v* is lost in *χάσκω* for *χᾶ(v)-σκω*; cf. the perfect *κέχηνα*. Zend *nerəfçaiti*, 'to wane' (**nr̥p-skō*), *qafçat*, 'to sleep' (**svep-skō*), and *tafça-* (= Lat. *tep^o-sco*) seem to show that a labial did not fall out before the combination *sk*.

V.—THE FINAL SENTENCE IN GREEK.

II.

In fulfilment of the promise made in the closing number of the fourth volume of this Journal,¹ I resume the consideration of the final sentence in Greek, with special reference to the results reached by Dr. Weber and Professor Schanz in the second part of the *Entwicklungsgeschichte der Absichtssätze*.² Those who did me the honor to follow my previous study must have observed that while I drew freely on the meritorious work of Dr. Weber for material, and acknowledged frankly the new light thrown upon the subject by his researches, yet the article was to a certain extent an independent contribution to the subject and outran the lines of Dr. Weber's first part.³

In the previous article there was necessarily much discussion of principle; in this we can afford to sum up more rapidly. In

¹ P. 444.

² *Entwicklungsgeschichte der Absichtssätze von Dr. Philip Weber. Zweite Abtheilung: Die Attische Prosa und Schlussergebnisse.* Würzburg, A. Stuber's Verlagshandlung, 1885.

³ In a note on p. 110 of this second part Dr. Weber has complained with good reason, as I must confess, that I have done him injustice by intimating that he laid especial stress on a phenomenon that was merely a part of his statistic; and in order to repair that wrong as far as I can, I herewith republish his remonstrance. 'Unrecht thut uns Gildersleeve, wenn er sagt, *Journal of Philology*, IV 4, p. 26 [441], Weber cites as a curiosity the opt. after the ind. with *ἀν*, 8, 53, as if it were something strange. Wir mussten in der Statistik den Fall als einen besonderen ausscheiden, es ist uns aber *nicht* eingefallen, in jenem Sprachgebrauch eine Irregularität zu erblicken. Die von Gildersleeve angeführten Beispiele waren ja uns auch bekannt.' It is hard to reproduce the mental attitude in which an article was written a year or more since, and I can only say in palliation of my offence that the passage from Herodotos was printed in full, as if it were something out of the common line, and that my attention must have been especially attracted to it by the slip of 'Conj.' for 'Opt.' which I gently pointed out. As the sequence of moods and tenses is not well treated in most manuals, I might have been forgiven for supposing that the passages cited were not present to Dr. Weber's mind. Even in the second part his treatment of difficult problems of this sort is not always satisfactory. In the notorious passage, Plato, *Menon*, 89 B, he changes, with Madvig and Schanz, *διέφθειρεν* into *διαφθείρειεν*, and defends the change by quoting Madvig's own words (*Advers.* I 413). The shift is, in my judgment, sufficiently explained by the interposed frequentative clause (*A. J. P.*, IV 434, note).

Homer, as we have seen, the favorite final particle was *ὅφρα*, in the Tragic Poets *ὥς*, in Aristophanes and Herodotos *ἵνα*. In the last-mentioned authors *ἵνα* preponderates so much that the use of the other final particles is in comparison sporadic. In the 'incomplete' (complementary) final sentence *ὅπως* with the future comes to the front. The tendency to uniformity, to simplification makes itself felt, and to this Weber attributes Herodotos' use of the subjunctive rather than the optative after past tenses. This is just one of those points in which it is hard to distinguish between historical development and individual bent. Weber has not guarded himself carefully enough in this respect. He wants historical development everywhere, even when the facts interpose. A solitary *ὅπως* in Pindar crops out at the wrong time. Away with it! A solitary *ὥς* with fut. indic. gives an inkling of a coming development. Count it! If we do not look out, statistic will shipwreck common sense. Is it anything but an accident that there is no genitive singular of *ἐγώ* in all Pindar? What kind of historical development of the articular infinitive do we find between Thukydides and Demosthenes? The chronological exhibit is crossed all the time by the law of the department, by the fancy of the individual, and while Dr. Weber has not wholly slighted these elements, he is too eager to make out a case in favor of the law of simplification. Herodotos is too early for mechanical simplification, mechanical uniformity. That belongs to a period when the forms began to suffer, and the subjunctive of the N. T. is not to be put in the same line with the *repraesentatio* of an earlier time. Herodotos' use of the subj. is due to *ἐνάργεια* rather than to simplification.

In this part Dr. Weber is more liberal in his acknowledgment of help, although in most cases he prefers to use his own collections, a course for which he is not to blame.

In INSCRIPTIONS, down to the archonship of Eukleides, *ὅπως ἄν* is the favorite for final sentences proper and improper, full and complementary, *ὅπως* is found once in final sentences proper, four times in final sentences improper, *ἵνα* is employed twice. In inscriptions from Eukleides to Augustus *ὅπως ἄν* is the most common final particle (110 times), but *ἵνα* appears 45 times and *ὅπως* 30; in complementary clauses *ὅπως ἄν* 23, *ὅπως* 9 times. In the imperial times, and then not till after Hadrian, we find *ὥς ἄν* with the opt. This dominant use of *ὅπως ἄν* may safely be set down as a feature of the official style,¹ just as in English legal documents have a peculiarly guarded

¹ See Wecklein, *Curæ Epigraphicae*, p. 42; A. J. P. IV 419.

set of constructions. I have elsewhere called the anticipatory the legal condition,¹ and *ὅπως ἂν* follows suit. Every one notices little tricks of English speech that are due to the legal profession, compounds of 'here' and 'there,' peculiar positions, formal conditionals, and so in Greek we must not disregard the influence of the official language of the courts, a specimen of which influence has been given by Fuhr in his article on *τε καί*.²

We pass to the HISTORIANS. THUKYDIDES does not use paratactic *μή* (*μή* = *ἵνα μή*) often, and in the three passages cited, 4, 22; 8, 75; 8, 100, fear is not far off. In sentences of fear proper (92) the subjunctive preponderates by far, *μή ἂν* with opt. occurs 2, 93, and *μή* with perf. ind. 3, 53. There are 16 examples of *μή οὐ*. Of the final particles *ὅπως* (114) predominates over *ἵνα* (52), *ὥς* with opt. occurs once (4, 4)—note that it is used with *μάλιστα*³—*ὥς ἂν* with subj. once (6, 91), *ὅπως ἂν* with opt. once (7, 65), used exactly as Herodotos would use it. After historical tenses the subj. outnumbers the opt. largely with *ἵνα* (26: 5), still more largely in sentences of fear (90: 5). With *ὅπως* we have a balance (opt. 50, subj. 49). In certain passages (3, 22; 6, 96; 7, 17; 7, 70; 8, 87) the moods shift, to the great joy of those who delight in metaphysical distinctions—though we ourselves change from 'that he be' to 'that he should be' and *vice versa* without any difficulty or any extravagant mental posturing. Weber decides against *ὅπως* with the future indic. in the final sentence proper; but in the complementary final sentence he counts 35 examples with *ὅπως*, of which 22 are fut. indic., 2 pres. subj., 9 (or 11) aor. subj.—all the last mentioned (except 1, 57: *γένηται*) being first aorists and readily turned into futures according to the canon of Dawes. There is no *ὅπως ἂν* in this class; *ὅπως ἂν κινηθείη* (4, 50) is interrogative.

The ORATORS come next. There is no paratactic *μή* in ANTIPHON, not even in the tetralogies, which Weber considers as most likely spurious and puts in a separate class. The basis for investigation is formed by 1, 5, 6—no mention being made of suspicions that attach to 1. Oddly enough Weber cites 5, 69: *εἰ μή φοβηθείς, ὥς ἀνεβόησεν*, 'frightened, when he cried out,' as if it were in the same line with *Γ Β 1: ὥς ἐμὲ μή . . . διαφθείρωσιν*. In 1, 5, 6, we find *ἵνα* 8 times, *ὅπως* 4, *ὥς* twice, in the tetralogies *ἵνα* 3 times, no *ὅπως*, no *ὥς*, a criterion to which Weber seems to attach

¹ Transactions Am. Phil. Asso. 1876, p. 2.

² Rh. Mus. XXXIII 583.

³ A. J. P. IV 419, note.

some importance. There is no *ὅπως ἄν*, no *ὥς ἄν* in Antiphon. *ὅπως* is used after verbs of entreaty three times, 1, 12, 23 (*bis*), and we have more trouble with *ὅπως* in 1, 6. After *περιεργαστίον*, A δ 3, we find *ἵνα*, a use which reminds us of Homer on the one hand, late Greek on the other. The sequence of moods is the usual one. In 1, 23 the subj. follows the aor.—very naturally. Certainly if the divergencies in the tetralogies excite Weber's suspicions, the divergencies in 1 are worthy of special emphasis. The stretch of *ὅπως* is much worse than sticking to *ἵνα*.

The orations of ANDOKIDES are of special value to the student of Attic syntax, because Andokides was a gentleman orator and not a professional. Weber excludes No. 4 of course. Andokides has no paratactic *μή*. Verbs of fear have regular sequences. To be noted is 1, 103: *ὁρᾶτε, μή οὐ . . . προσήκει. ἵνα* occurs 21 times (in 4 twice), *ὅπως* 11, *ὥς* once (1, 99), change from *ἵνα* to *ὅπως* 3, 14. *ὅπως ἄν* occurs in a *ψήφισμα*, *ὥς ἄν* in 4, 23 (*ὥς ἄν μάλιστα : . . ποιήσῃ*), where *μάλιστα* may have something to do with it as *μᾶλλον* in the solitary Platonic passage (A. J. P. IV 419). After historical tenses Andokides uses the subjunctive more freely than the opt. with *ἵνα*, with *ὅπως* the opt. alone. The indic. after an unreal clause (2, 21) is due to an emendation of Bekker. *ὅπως* with the fut. 1, 43; 1, 89, shows distinctly a relative character. Translate 1, 43 'by which means,' 1, 89 'by which.'

In LYSIAS¹ there is no paratactic *μή* to be found. In the sentences of fear especially remarkable is 13, 51: *μή καταλυθείη ἄν*, due to Markland. 27, 9 we have an object sentence after a verb of fear: *οὐ τοῦτο δέδοικα ὥς ἐὰν ἀκροῶσθε αὐτῶν ἀποψηφείσθε*. 2, 34, put in the same category by Weber, belongs rather to the causal exclamatory. *μή οὐ* occurs 30, 11. The sequence after historical as well as after principal tenses is subjunctive. In the final sentence proper we find *ἵνα* in 69 passages (20 in the doubtful speeches), *ὅπως* in 2; there is no *ὅπως ἄν*. For *ὥς ποιήσωσιν* (28, 4), we are to read with Markland and Bekker beyond question, *ὥς . . . ποιήσουσιν*. Compare what was said, A. J. P. IV 444, on the parallelism of the final sentence and *ὥς* with fut. part. 32, 24: *ὥς ἔσται βελτίων* is considered by Weber final. The passage runs: *τί ἂν οὖν βουλευθέντες ὑμεῖς τοῦτον δοκιμάσαιτε; πότερον ὥς οὐχ ἡμαρτηκότα; ἀλλὰ τὰ μέγιστα περὶ τὴν πατρίδα ἡδίκηκεν; ἀλλ' ὥς ἔσται βελτίων; τοιγάρτοι πρότερον βελτίων*

¹ 2, 6, 8, 9, 14, 15, 20 are treated separately because they are open to suspicion.

γενόμενος περὶ τὴν πόλιν ὕστερον βουλευεῖν ἀξιούτω, φανερόν τι ἀγαθὸν ὥσπερ τότε κακὸν ποιήσας. The reading ἀλλ' ἴσως has been suggested. One would have expected ἀλλ' ὥς ἐσόμενον βελτίω; and possibly some such notion as ἐλπίζετε (cf. 14, 2) may have been floating through the mind of the orator. A slight anacoluthon seems preferable to the harsh construction that Weber defends.

As to the sequence of moods with ἵνα after the historical tenses, subj. and opt. balance in the undoubted speeches. In six passages the indicative follows unreal relations, but in one passage the indicative is due to conjecture (3, 44). In both the passages 12, 44 and 13, 19, which Weber considers ὅπως as purely final, the notion of contrivance is either clearly stated (12, 44 : ἐπεβουλευέσθε) or implied (13, 19). Of the complementary sentences with ὅπως one may be especially noted (1, 29), as Frohberger's note is misleading: ὅπως μὲν μὴ ἀποθάνῃ ἡντεβόλει καὶ ἰκέτευεν is simply equivalent to μὴ ἀποθανεῖν ἡντεβ. καὶ ἰκέτευεν, and there is no misplacement of μὲν, which we do not in the least expect to find after ἡντεβόλει, as in § 25, where we have chiasm. Noteworthy is the imperative ὅπως with the fut., 1, 21; 12, 50, both in familiar talk.

In ISOKRATES No. 1 is separated from the others. As we should expect in this well regulated orator, there is not much to be noted. Paratactic μὴ occurs once; there are 34 sentences of fear, no μὴ οὐ. 1 7, 22: ἐδεδοίκει . . . ὅπως μὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ Μενεξένου συλληφθῇ-σοιτο, as if ἐπεφροντίζει. μὴ after σκοπεῖτε (15, 297); comp. 15, 6. In the final sentence proper ἵνα occurs 94 times (in 1 thrice), ὅπως ἂν 3 times (in 1 once), ὅπως only in 1, and there twice. The only irregularity in the sequence of a principal tense is 5, 154, in which it is superstition not to change κατίδους into κατίδης, especially in view of the ὁμοιοτέλετον so seductive to a scribe: ἵν' ὥς ἐν ἐλαχίστοις κατίδους. After historical tenses subj. and opt. balance. Unreal clauses (2) are followed by the imperfect indicative. ὅπως ἂν follows οὐχ ἵνα, 3, 2 and 5, 152, a cautious final following one that is rejected; varying with ἵνα, but preceding it, 15, 259. The complementary ὅπως occurs 35 times, always with fut. indic. except 21, 12, where we have fut. opt.

In ISAIOS there is but one paratactic μὴ (6, 5). In the five sentences of fear the sequence is normal. In the complete final sentence ἵνα is used 41 times, ὅπως 6. ὅπως is normal in its sequence. ἵνα after hist. tenses has more optatives than subjunctives. The indic. with ἵνα occurs twice, Fr. 3, 1 and 11, 6, where we find ἵνα μᾶλλον ἂν ἐπιστεύετο, which ἂν is questionable. In 3, 28 an unreal

sentence is followed by an opt., in connection, be it noted, with a frequentative opt., although the frequentative opt. has not the same advantage of position as in the passage referred to above. The complementary *ὅπως* has the future indic., twice the fut. opt. after historical tenses. Subj. and opt. are easily emended. *ὅπως ἄν* in connection with a law occurs 7, 30; imperative *ὅπως* 11, 5.

LYKURGOS shows no paratactic *μή*, only one sentence of fear (§33). In the final sentence proper *ἵνα* occurs 5 times, *ὅπως* twice, *ὅπως ἄν* twice; there is a shift from *οὐχ ὅπως* to *ἀλλ' ἵνα* (§119). Five sequences out of 9 are normal. Especially noteworthy is §141: *ἐχρῆν . . . ὅπως . . . παρασκευάζωσιν*. With *ἔδει* and *ἐχρῆν* the unreality is not always so sharply felt. For the *repraesentatio* after *ὅπως ἄν* (§86), comp. Hdt. (A. J. P. IV 443). *ὅπως* in a complementary sentence §127: *παρακελεύεσθε . . . ὅπως . . . ἐξίητε*.

For the speeches of DEMOSTHENES, Weber follows the division of A. Schäfer: I. Genuine. IIa. Apollodoros' speeches (52, 53, 49, 50, 47, 45, 46, 59). IIβ. Speeches of other contemporaries (51, 7, 17, 40, 57, 43, 48, 44, 35, 58, 42, 32, 33, 34, 56). III. Forgeries of rhetoricians (10, 11, 12, 13, 25, 26, 27, 60, 61). Letters, laws, testimonies, and the collection of *προοίμια* are left out altogether.

Paratactic *μή* occurs only twice (38, 26 and 19, 225). The indic. after a verb of fear 19, 96. *ὅπως μή* with fut. indic. 9, 75, aor. subj. (2) 8, 53, *ὥς* with fut. ind. as an object sentence 14, 25. An independent sentence of fear 1, 26: *μή λίαν πικρὸν εἰπεῖν ἦ*. The naughty forgers seem to have behaved very well in the matter of grammar and to have brought no disgrace on the name they stole.

We content ourselves with the general statistic.

Final sentence proper.

ἵνα.

(a) After principal tenses:

	<i>Pres. Subj.</i>	<i>Aor. Subj.</i>	<i>Shift.</i>
I	110	54	9
IIa	34	8	4
IIβ	19	7	1
III	11	9	

(b) After historical tenses:

	<i>Pres. Opt.</i>	<i>Aor. Opt.</i>	<i>Shift.</i>
I	13	13	5
IIa	13	13	
IIβ	3	7	
III	1	3	

(c) After historical tenses:

	<i>Pres. Subj.</i>	<i>Aor. Subj.</i>	<i>Shift.</i>
I	14	20	I
II _a	11	11	
II _β	5	8	2
III	4	6	

(d) Shift between subj. and opt. after historical tenses in I, 1, II_a, 2.

(e) Indicative: I, 10 (11); II_a, 3; II_β, 1 (2); III, 1.

ὅπως.

(a) After principal tenses:

	<i>Pres. Subj.</i>	<i>Aor. Subj.</i>
I	4	I
II _β		I

(b) After historical tenses:

	<i>Pres. Opt.</i>	<i>Aor. Opt.</i>	<i>Shift.</i>
I	2	4	
II _a		I	I
II _β		I	I

(c) After historical tenses:

	<i>Pres. Subj.</i>	<i>Aor. Subj.</i>	<i>Shift.</i>
I	I	I	
II _β	2	2	I
III			I

There is one example of *ὅπως* with aor. indic. 36, 20; *ὅπως μή* with future indic. 42, 5. 28.

ὅπως ἄν with subj.

I. Twice after principal, twice after historical tenses.

II_a. 52, 11, where read *ὅπως . . . δόξω . . . ζημιώσομαι*, omitting *ἄν*.

II_β. Of the 6 examples two are after principal, two after historical tenses.

In 24, 146 and 43, 42 *ὥς* with fut. indic. though apparently final, may be objective-elliptical, a construction that is especially familiar with *ὅτι* (Khn. §551 A. 4). Supply *ἵνα δείξω*.

ἵνα τι, destined to become so familiar in later Greek, occurs in 19, 257.

Many of the subj. sequences after historical tenses occur, as Weber notes, in sentences involving the views of lawgivers who legislate for all time, and the predominance of the present tense is due to the use of the formula *ἵν' εἰδῆτε, εἰδῶσιν*, etc. In the unreal indicative *ἵνα* is used 14 (16) times, *ὅπως* but once. The four passages in which an opt. occurs after a principal tense are 3, 34 (to be explained by the preceding conditional relative clause, see A. J. P. IV 434, and above, p. 53, note), 22, 11; 24, 145. 147, in which the context shows how easy the shift is to the past.

In the complementary final sentence *ὅπως* appears—

(1) chiefly with the future indic.:

	<i>After principal tenses.</i>	<i>Historical tenses.</i>
I	51	22
IIa	4	3
IIβ	4	8
III	3	3

(2) with fut. opt. 27, 40 (?)

(3) with subj.:

	<i>After principal tenses.</i>	<i>Historical tenses.</i>
I	7	4
IIa		
IIβ	3	12
III	1	1

(4) with aor. opt. 18, 16.

ὅπως ἂν with subj. occurs 4 times, with opt. 35, 29.

The independent imperative *ὅπως* with fut. indic. occurs in the genuine speeches of Demosthenes 8 times, in the spurious once.

Weber calls especial attention to *ὥς* nearly in the sense of *ὅπως* 5, 24, and to *ἵνα* with *ποιοῦμενοι τὴν σπουδὴν* (16, 28). Comp. p. 56.

In AISCHINES there is no paratactic *μή*. Sentences of fear have the subjunctive after historical as well as after principal tenses, except 2, 21. *μή* occurs in a complementary final sentence 2, 159.

In the final sentence proper *ἵνα* dominates, being used 70 times, *ὅπως* twice, *ὅπως ἂν* (in official style) once. After historical tenses subj. is more common than opt. (9: 6). For the subj. after the unreal *ἐβουλόμην*, Bekker reads the indic. *ἐξῆν* instead of the MS *ἐξῆν*.

The complementary final sentence has *ὅπως* with the fut. after

principal tenses 3 times, to which we may add 1, 6 with Bekker. In 3, 64 after a past tense Cobet reads περιμενεῖτε for περιμένετε.

In DEINARCHOS there is no paratactic μή and no sentence of fear. ἵνα is the only final particle used. Of two final sentences after an historical tense one is in the subj.

There is no complementary final sentence.

HYPEREIDES has no paratactic μή, two sentences of fear, one being an historical tense followed by the subj.

In the final sentence proper ἵνα occurs 7 times, ὅπως once—οὐχ ὅπως . . . ἀλλ' ἵνα—ὅπως ἄν twice, with decided imitation of official style. After historical tenses the subj. is used once, the opt. once; there is one shift.

ὅπως is used 4 times, every time with the fut. as seems most likely.

The details of usage in the orators have been given more fully because the orators are of the greatest importance for fixing the norm of Attic syntax. We cannot depend on so self-willed a genius as Thukydides, we cannot follow the devious track of the vagrant *condottiere* Xenophon, we cannot let ourselves be swayed by Plato's dithyrambic moods, and it is a thousand pities that some resolute person had not years ago laid down an Attic syntax on the lines of the men who had to speak so as to be understood, who had to speak so as to commend themselves to a critical Athenian audience.

Passing by isolated phenomena, the lessons to be learned from the survey of the explanation of the oratorical usage in the final sentences are these (see Weber, p. 44 foll.):

- (1) The vanishing of the paratactic μή (μή for ἵνα μή).
- (2) Transition of the sentence of fear into other kinds of sentences, complementary, final and object sentences.
- (3) In all the orators without exception ἵνα is the favorite final particle proper. In Antiphon, Andokides, Lykurgos, ὅπως makes some show; in Isokrates, the model of deportment, none whatever. Lysias has almost exactly the same proportion of ἵνα to ὅπως (69 : 2) as Aischines (70 : 2). The rarity of ὥς was noticed before. ὅπως ἄν with the subj. is used only 12 times, and then under special conditions. There is no ὥς ἄν.
- (4) After historical tenses optative and subjunctive nearly balance, in Demosthenes perfectly. Antiphon and Isaïos, however, show a decided preference for the 'normal' construction.
- (5) In the complementary final sentence ὅπως is the favorite, and it regularly takes the future indic.

It would be easy enough to find food for reflection in the divergencies of the different orators, but we forbear.

Two authors remain to cover the field mapped out, PLATO and XENOPHON. The question of genuineness complicates the problem in both cases, especially in the former. Xenophon here also shows himself to be outside of the conventional pale, while the easy conversational style of Plato's dialogue brings to the front constructions sparingly represented elsewhere. Not only has Plato made considerable use of the dependent sentences of fear, but the independent sentence of fear to express a cautious assertion is a leading peculiarity of his style, whereas there is only one example in all Demosthenes (I, 26). It seems to be used occasionally even in the question, and there are similar freedoms in the use of *ὅπως μή* (Menon, 77 A; Rpb. 6, 506 D).

In the incomplete final sentence *μή* with subj. or opt. is used in 40 places (add 10 spurious), and familiar to the reader of Plato is *ὅρα* (and the like) *μή* with indic. and subj. The indic. being beyond the reach of the will of the speaker gives the theoretical, the subj. the practical side.¹

From Weber's statistic it appears that Plato uses—

- | | | |
|--------------------|-----------|--------------------|
| (1) <i>ἵνα</i> | 368 times | (add 74 spurious). |
| (2) <i>ὅπως</i> | 23 | " (" 9 ") |
| (3) <i>ὅπως ἄν</i> | 25 | " |
| (4) <i>ὥς</i> | once | |

ἵνα has crowded *ὅπως* into a corner. *ὅπως* (pure final) with subj. occurs in the Symp. 174 E; outside of that, in the Laws. *ὅπως ἄν* in Gorg. E, Lach. 181 C, Sympos. 198 E; outside of these, in the Republic and in the Laws. It is not necessary to say that the Laws show a large number of oddities, and on any theory stand apart from the run of Platonic dialogues. Weber acknowledges in a note the difficulty of distinguishing between the full final sentence and the complementary final sentence, a difficulty which is enhanced by the easy conversational swing of Plato's style, and the three passages cited are instances of *ὅπως* with fut. indic. Gorg. 513 A, Phaidon, 91 C, and Symp. 174 E, do not produce the effect of final sentences proper. *τοῦθ' ὅρα, παντὶ λόγῳ ἀντιτείνετε* are too nearly akin to verbs of will and endeavor, and the passage in the Sympos.

¹ "Fehlt der Coniunctiv, so fehlt der Gedanke der Abwehr: es handelt sich dann nur um die Richtigkeit einer Aussage."—Weber.

is more lively if we punctuate *εἰς καλὸν ἦκεις* * *ὅπως συνδειπνήσεις*, and make the *ὅπως* clause an imperative.

ὥς occurs in a final sentence only once, Tim. 92 A: *θεοῦ βύσεις ὑποτιθέντος πλείους τοῖς μᾶλλον ἄφροσιν ὥς μᾶλλον ἐπὶ γῆν ἔλκονται*, where *μᾶλλον* may have an influence. Comp. the example from Andokides (p. 56).

As to the sequence of the moods and tenses, it appears that there is little ground to accept the opt. after principal tenses in Plato. Rpb. 3, 410 B, *οἱ καθιστάντες* is equivalent to *οἱ καθίστασαν* (Madvig), and in Phileb. 34 C *εἴρηται* involves *ἐρρήθη*. After historical tenses *ἵνα* with opt.: *ἵνα* with subj. :: 54: 18, and according to Weber the action lies still in the future of the speaker except in Kriton, 43 B. Plato is evidently not in the current of uniformitarianism, and it may be well to consider whether department and individual have not more to do with such peculiarities than the course of historical development. The fut. opt. in Euthyphr. 15 D and Rpb. 3, 393 E, need not detain us, in view of bad tradition in these matters. Weber looks on the first example as a development from the fut. in a sentence of fear.

The indicative of a preterite is found 8 or 9 times according as we count Menon, 89 B, or not (see above, p. 53)."

In the incomplete (complementary) final sentence *ὅπως* occurs 70 times with the fut. (add spurious 8), 10 times with the subj. (add spurious 10), *ὅπως* twice with fut. opt., once with present opt., following an historical tense, *ὅπως ἂν* with the subj. 18 times (add 3 in the Letters, once in Menexenos), *ὅπως ἂν* with pres. opt., following a principal tense. Add *ὥς* Rpb. I 349 C.

The 70 (78) passages with the fut. are fairly certain, though, of course, we find here and there in the MSS the sigmatic subj. which seems to be avoided in this class of sentences. The majority of the examples of *ὅπως ἂν* with subj. are in Rpb. and Laws. In Lysis. 207 E: *προθυμούνται ὅπως ἂν εὐδαιμονοίης*, the clause follows the analogy of the relative-interrogative sentence (See A. J. P. IV 442).

The independent *ὅπως* clause (imperative *ὅπως*) occurs some 13 times. There is only one troublesome subj. Euthyd. 296 A: *σφήλη*. The rest may be safely set down as future.

The Republic of the Athenians, perhaps with justice considered the oldest piece of Attic prose, presents no peculiarities in the final sentence, and according to Weber the other Pseudo-Xenophontean pieces have so few final sentences that they do not disturb the calculations in the case of XENOPHON.

Paratactic $\mu\eta$ occurs 12 times. There are some 130 sentences of fear. Remarkable is the freedom of Mem. 3, 9, 3: $\eta\delta\epsilon\omega\varsigma \gamma' \alpha\nu, \epsilon\phi\eta, \epsilon\iota \mu\eta \phi\omicron\beta\omicron\iota\mu\eta\nu, \theta\pi\omega\varsigma \mu\eta \epsilon\pi' \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu \mu\epsilon \tau\rho\acute{\alpha}\pi\eta\tau\omicron\iota\omicron.$ "The sentence of fear is construed after the analogy of the final sentence; and we must not overlook the attraction of mood." As has already been seen, we must expect a certain freedom in all emotional sentences. If we can have in an independent sentence $\theta\pi\omega\varsigma \mu\eta \tau\rho\acute{\alpha}\pi\eta\tau\omicron\iota$ as well as $\mu\eta \tau\rho\acute{\alpha}\pi\eta\tau\omicron\iota$, the step that Xenophon takes is a short one and in perfect conformity with the original growth of the sentence of fear out of parataxis. Noteworthy is the use of the future indic. and opt. with $\omega\varsigma$ after verbs of fear as well as with $\mu\eta$.

In the complementary final sentences (35 in number) we find four futures, all of which are easily detachable as questions. Cyr. 3, 1, 27 (*bis*), 4, 1, 18 (*θρα*), Ages. 7, 6 (*όρην χρή*).

The results of the investigation into the handling of the final sentence proper by Xenophon are especially interesting, but the detailed statements would take up too much room to be repeated here. The summary is this:

$\theta\pi\omega\varsigma$.	.	.	319 times
$\iota\upsilon\alpha$.	.	.	213 "
$\omega\varsigma$.	.	.	95 "

From this summary it would seem (1) that the favorite final conjunction on the whole is $\theta\pi\omega\varsigma$, as is the case with Thukydides, (2) that $\omega\varsigma$ reappears in force.¹

The detailed statement of the occurrences shows further that on the whole $\theta\pi\omega\varsigma$ gains on $\iota\upsilon\alpha$, and that $\omega\varsigma$ is conspicuous chiefly in Anabasis and Kyrop. Anab. and Kyrop. belong to Dittenberger's second group, an arrangement based on the use of the particle $\mu\eta\nu$, but the vast preponderance of $\iota\upsilon\alpha$ in the Kynegetikos is a fact which some would interpret as a sign not of early authorship, but of spuriousness. The predominance of $\theta\pi\omega\varsigma$ in the Hellenika, which Dittenberger divides among the three groups (I 1-2, 3, 10; II 2, 3, 11-5, 1; III 5, 2-7) may be accounted for by Thukydidean influence; but no sensible person will stake too much on minute variations.

¹ "Wir können dieser Thatsache als eine Analogie die von T. Mommsen ermittelte zur Seite stellen, wonach $\sigma\iota\nu$ höchst selten in der attischen Prosa ist, dagegen von Xenophon überaus häufig statt $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$ gebraucht wird. Solche Beobachtungen lehren uns eine Wahrheit, die noch immer vielfach nicht genug beachtet wird, nämlich dass eine Grammatik, die sich an Xenophon anlehnt, leicht dazu kommt, Singularitäten, die dieser Schriftsteller so sehr liebt, als gewöhnliche Norm der attischen Rede hinzustellen." Weber, p. 76. This will not be news to the readers of this Journal (IV 419).

As to the sequence of tenses, Weber examines the passages in which the opt. is set down as following the principal tenses, and finds that the opt. is due either to an imperfect participle (Kyr. 1, 6, 28) or to an imperf. inf. (l. c. 4, 2, 45). So also Lak. Pol. 14, 4, where the reference to the past is unmistakable. Of course dependencies on opt. (and opt. and *ἄν*) do not count (Kyr. 1, 6, 22; 2, 4, 17; Anab. 2, 4, 3; 3, 1, 18). In later Greek the opt. is so often badly used by authors who wish to show off their knowledge of the mood that we must be cautious about changing the text, but in a classic writer no irregular sequence of the opt. should pass without rigid scrutiny. In Anab. 2, 4, 4; 3, 2, 36, Weber suggests, not badly, that *ἵσως δέ σου* and *ἵσως οὐν* with indic. are felt as equivalents of opt. and *ἄν*.

After historical tenses we have the following sequences :

	<i>Opt.</i>	<i>Subj.</i>
<i>ἵνα</i>	38	11
<i>ὅπως</i>	121	16
<i>ὥς</i>	42	4
<i>ὅπως ἄν</i>	4	1
<i>ὥς ἄν</i>	1	
Sentences of fear	59	10
Paratactic <i>μή</i>	3	—
	<hr/> 268	<hr/> 42

It will be seen at once that Xenophon holds to the old rule as Plato does, while Thukydides prefers the subjunctive, and the two moods balance each other in the orators.

For the details of the complementary final sentence in Xenophon we have no space. Suffice it to say that he also is reluctant to combine *ὅπως* with the sigmatic aorist subj. after verbs of contrivance, but otherwise prefers subj. and opt. to indic. Specially noticeable is his tendency to treat the complementary final sentence as an indirect question. But after all *ὥς* and *ὅπως* never lose their relative nature wholly, and relative runs into interrogative all the time in Greek.

In the closing chapter Weber sums up the chief results and discusses certain disputed points, which get their best light from a complete survey of the facts.

1. *Parataxis*. As we have seen, all investigation of the hypotactic sentence must start from parataxis.¹ The final sentence

¹ A. J. P. IV 419.

in its finite form is a sentence of will, and when the sentence of will is furnished with a particle, that particle readily becomes a joint to connect the separate sentences in a unity of leading clause and subordinate clause. Such a particle is furnished for the negative final sentence in *μή*: for the positive final sentence, *ὅφρα*, *ἵνα*, *ὥς*, *ὅπως* come into use, but *ὅφρα* and *ὅπως* are hypotactic to begin with, and the paratactic feeling in *ἵνα* and *ὥς* can be revived only with difficulty. The parataxis of the negative sentence then runs side by side with the hypotaxis of the positive sentence until at last the assimilation of the two sets takes place and spreads. We have *ἵνα μή*, *ὅπως μή* as well as the simple *μή*, which retreats more and more from the complete final sentence. Paratactic *μή* maintains itself very bravely down to Euripides. In Aristophanes and Herodotos it gives way; in Thukydides and the orators it fades out, Thukydides has only four examples, Isokrates and Isaïos one each, Demosthenes two, the other orators none. In Plato and Xenophon paratactic *μή* revives somewhat, but on the whole paratactic *μή* or *μή* = *ἵνα μή* is almost wholly confined to poetry, while Attic prose (including Aristophanes) and Herodotos almost always have hypotaxis. This is a result well worth emphasizing in our school grammars, as Weber says, though Madvig seems to have been careful enough when he says 'bisweilen bloss *μή*' (§122).

2. *Sentences of Fear.* Sentences of fear present much that is apparently abnormal, and the variety of constructions reflects the tumultuousness of the feeling. The ordinary rules for tenses will not work without modification, and the original parataxis must often be restored in order to make the construction comprehensible.¹ In the nature of things we cannot expect the independent sentence of fear to die out altogether, and indeed, in one of its modifications it must have developed a vigorous conversational life, to judge by the frequent use of it in Plato as a hesitating form of utterance, where the fear is an urbane concession to the possible prejudice of the interlocutor.

Weber accounts for the use of the indicative after verbs of fear partly by a false analogy. *φοβοῦμαι μή τι πάθωσιν* is extended to *φοβοῦμαι μή τι ἔπαθον*. But the use of the indicative in the sentence of fear, beginning as it does with Homer (Od. 5, 300), must be measured not by Latin, where the notion of the sphere of time adheres to the subjunctive, but by the necessities of the Greek. If the unreal is expressed in Greek by the indic., why not the fear as to the irreversible? From the aor. the usage would spread to perf. and

¹A. J. P. IV 421.

present, where the designation is not necessary, and where we often encounter textual variants.¹ The use of the fut. with $\mu\eta$ is an easy though not a common extension, and the few passages with $\mu\eta + \text{opt.}$ and $\alpha\upsilon$ give no difficulty to any one who remembers that $\mu\eta + \text{opt.}$ and $\alpha\upsilon$ occurs in the interrogative sentence which is so closely connected with sentences of fear. It is to this same connection between fear and question to which are due combinations of verbs of fear with $\omega\varsigma$ (orig. 'how') and $\sigma\pi\omega\varsigma$.

3. The occasional use of *an incomplete final sentence with $\mu\eta$* ($\sigma\phi\alpha$, $\delta\rho\alpha\tau\epsilon$ $\mu\eta$) is an extension of the verbs of fear.

4. *Final particles.* These are $\sigma\phi\alpha$, $\iota\upsilon\alpha$, $\omega\varsigma$, $\sigma\pi\omega\varsigma$, $\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ —all, be it noted, in Homer, all in Homer alone. $\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ tries itself in the Odyssey, and then falls away— $\sigma\phi\alpha$ dies after Theognis. Only $\iota\upsilon\alpha$, $\omega\varsigma$ and $\sigma\pi\omega\varsigma$ are left.

In Homer the dominant particle is $\sigma\phi\alpha$, so in the Hymns, in Pindar, in the lyric poets. In Hesiod $\sigma\phi\alpha$ is only one behind $\iota\upsilon\alpha$, whereas Pindar does not use $\iota\upsilon\alpha$ at all. The dominant final particle of all the tragic poets is $\omega\varsigma$, the favorite of Aristophanes and Herodotos is $\iota\upsilon\alpha$, which bears sway throughout the Attic orators and in Plato. $\sigma\pi\omega\varsigma$ is Thukydides' pet; it has a slight advantage over $\iota\upsilon\alpha$ in Xenophon on the whole, an advantage which increases as time goes on. The official $\sigma\pi\omega\varsigma$ $\alpha\upsilon$ is the dominant form in inscriptions. The tendency to reduce the number of particles is marked. Homer has all five, but $\sigma\pi\omega\varsigma$ and $\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ are in the background. Hesiod may be counted as having three particles ($\sigma\phi\alpha$, $\iota\upsilon\alpha$, $\omega\varsigma$). The tragic poets use $\iota\upsilon\alpha$, $\omega\varsigma$ and $\sigma\pi\omega\varsigma$, with individual variations. So also Aristophanes and Herodotos. Thukydides practically limits himself to $\iota\upsilon\alpha$ and $\sigma\pi\omega\varsigma$. Isokrates uses only $\iota\upsilon\alpha$ and $\sigma\pi\omega\varsigma$ $\alpha\upsilon$, the latter very rarely, Isaïos only $\iota\upsilon\alpha$ and $\sigma\pi\omega\varsigma$. Antiphon, Andokides, Lysias, Demosthenes have three final particles, though $\omega\varsigma$ is very seldom used, the others have only two, but $\iota\upsilon\alpha$ increases to the detriment of $\sigma\pi\omega\varsigma$ final and becomes paramount, and $\omega\varsigma$ may be counted out of Attic prose.

	$\omega\varsigma$	$\omega\varsigma$ $\iota\upsilon\alpha$
Thukydides	1	1
Antiphon	2	
Andokides	1	
Lysias	1 (?)	
Demosthenes	1 (?)	
Plato	1	
	<hr/>	
	7 (5)	

¹ A. J. P. IV 435.

Of this important fact, no secret to those who have read Greek carefully, our school grammars take not the slightest notice—not for lack of earnest admonition.¹ Xenophon, as we have seen, is exceptional here as elsewhere.

5. *Impure final particles* (i. e. with *άν, κε*). Homer uses *ίνα κε* once under circumstances of special temptation, and the example does not count.² *ώς κε* 25 times, *ώς άν* 13, *ὅφρα κε* 8, *ὅφρα άν* 6. These get themselves reduced to *ώς άν* and *ὅπως άν*, which have varying fortunes, *ώς άν* being atop in the tragic poets and Herodotos, *ὅπως άν* in Aristophanes and Attic prose. On the whole we note a general decline in the use of the impure final particles in the final sentence proper, if indeed the sentence can be purely final in such case.³

6. *The optative after principal tenses* has very little hold. In some of the 22 examples the past element is more or less distinctly involved, in some assimilation has taken place, in some the sentence is not purely final. Ten examples are thus accounted for by Weber. Of the remaining twelve, eleven can be disposed of by a slight emendation: one is tempted to get rid of the twelfth by more heroic means, Ran. 23; but in my judgment Ran. 23 may be defended by the shift of vision (see A. J. P. IV 440).

7. *The subjunctive after historical tenses*. In the first group, embracing the poets from Homer to Aristophanes, there is no author that has given the preference to the subjunctive. In the second group, consisting of Herodotos and Thukydides, the subjunctive predominates. In the third group, that of the orators, there is much oscillation. On the whole subjunctive and optative balance each other. In the fourth group, Plato and Xenophon, the optative comes forward again.

It will be seen by this that a departure from the ordinary rule for the sequence of moods and tenses, such as we find in the new edition of Hadley's grammar, is a mistake.⁴ The affinity between the opt. and the historical tenses is not to be effaced. The subj. is used either when the action lies in the future of the author or the future of the speaker (*repraesentatio*). In the latter case it is a kind of quotation, and its vividness is especially sought in historical style. On the other hand, the regular use of the subj. after past tenses in such compositions as the New Testament is due to impoverishment. The optative is dying out, and when would-be elegant writers try

¹ A. J. P. IV 419; V 400.

² *Ibid.* IV 424.

³ *Ibid.* 439.

⁴ *Ibid.* V 400.

to use it in final sentences they overdo it, as is notoriously the case in Lucian, who uses $\omega\varsigma$ with opt. freely after principal tenses (A. J. P. IV 428).

8. *Optative in consequence of attraction.* The optative of wish throws the dependent final sentence into the optative when the purpose is an integral part of the wish. The potential (opt. with $\alpha\upsilon$) takes its regular sequence in the subjunctive. There are few exceptions, and some of these show that a wish is involved.

9. More troublesome is the use of the *indicative of a past tense*. There are 56 examples; $\iota\upsilon\alpha$ is by far the favorite (41), $\delta\pi\omega\varsigma$ is used 9 times, $\omega\varsigma$ 6 in the poets and Xenophon. The tense is usually the imperfect (40 instances), there are 12 aorists, 3 pluperfects, in one passage both imperfect and aorist. The leading clause is either an unfulfilled wish or an unreal condition, or $\epsilon\delta\epsilon\iota$, $\epsilon\chi\rho\eta\eta$ and the like.¹ The evidence for $\alpha\upsilon$ in the final clause is not sufficient to warrant the acceptance of it. As subj. and opt. occur after the unreal condition and the rest, it would seem desirable to formulate carefully. But Weber thinks that no rule can be laid down, and that it depends wholly on the writer whether he chooses to indicate the relation of the action to reality or not. A safer formula would be: The indicative is used when the final clause is the main thing and the leading clause is only a means to an end. The subj. or opt. is used when the motive of the action and not the failure of the end is kept in view. The expressions are not interchangeable. In Ar. Eccl. 151:

$\epsilon\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\mu\eta\eta\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu\ \alpha\upsilon\ \tau\omicron\omega\eta\ \eta\theta\acute{\alpha}\delta\omega\eta$
 $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\iota\omega\ \tau\acute{\alpha}\ \beta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\tau\iota\sigma\theta'\ \iota\omega'\ \epsilon\kappa\alpha\theta\eta\mu\eta\eta\ \eta\sigma\upsilon\chi\omicron\varsigma$

the subj. could not be substituted. The chief thing is $\epsilon\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\mu\eta\eta\ \alpha\upsilon\ \kappa\alpha\theta\eta\sigma\theta\alpha\iota\ \eta\sigma\upsilon\chi\omicron\varsigma$. In Isaïos 3, 28: $\delta\eta\lambda\omicron\nu\ \delta\tau\iota\ \kappa\alpha\upsilon\ \alpha\rho\gamma\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\nu\ \mu\alpha\lambda\lambda\omega\ \mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu\ \delta\ \epsilon\gamma\gamma\upsilon\omega\eta\ \delta\iota\omega\mu\omicron\lambda\omicron\gamma\eta\sigma\alpha\tau\omicron\ \epsilon\chi\epsilon\iota\omega\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu\ \epsilon\pi\iota\ \tau\eta\ \gamma\upsilon\upsilon\alpha\iota\kappa\acute{\iota}$, $\iota\upsilon\alpha\ \mu\grave{\eta}\ \epsilon\pi'\ \epsilon\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\omega\ \gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\iota\tau\omicron\ \rho\acute{\alpha}\delta\iota\omega\varsigma\ \alpha\pi\alpha\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}\tau\tau\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota\ \acute{\omicron}\pi\acute{\omicron}\tau\epsilon\ \beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\iota\tau\omicron\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \gamma\upsilon\upsilon\alpha\iota\kappa\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$. Here it is only necessary to read the speech in order to see that $\iota\upsilon\alpha\ \mu\grave{\eta}\ \epsilon\pi'\ \epsilon\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\omega\ \gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\iota\tau\omicron$ would not have answered. There is no opposing $\epsilon\pi'\ \epsilon\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\omega\ \gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\iota\tau\omicron$. The action is prospective, not retrospective. 'He ought to have killed the tyrant that he might have saved his country' would require the indicative. 'He ought to have killed the tyrant not to avenge himself but to save his country' would require either subj. or opt. The examples of the subj. given by Weber from

¹This is the ground of Kirchhoff's $\epsilon\upsilon\theta\epsilon\ \dots\ \eta$ Eur. I. T. 354. 355. The ordinary text cannot stand.

Dem. 18, 28; 24, 44; 30, 20; 47, 4 are to be explained on this principle. The shift in Menon has been discussed already (p. 53).

In the former article I emphasized the fact that the sequence of the verb of fear is not changed by unreality (A. J. P. IV 441). To the examples there given Weber has added others, and has repelled somewhat energetically, as we have seen, what he supposes to be an imputation that he was not familiar with the phenomenon.

10. *ὅπως with the fut. indic. in the final sentence proper.* In the final sentence proper *ὅπως* seldom takes the future; there are two, one of which is certain, in Sophokles, two in Euripides, nine out of eleven in Aristophanes. It is rare in the orators; there are two examples in Plato, six in Xenophon. By applying the familiar canon of Dawes and changing all the sigmatic subjunctives into futures, the number of futures will be largely increased, but this will not always work. So. El. 1120: *κλαύσω κάποδύρωμαι* must stand. Ar. Eccl. 116: *προμελετήσωμεν* is protected by the metre. Herodotos has two sigmatic subjunctives (2, 120; 2, 121); out of 25 in Thukydides 12 are sigmatic. Andok. 3, 14: *κομισώμεθα* (combined with *γένηται*) is not easily changed into *κομιούμεθα*, nor Isai. 12, 4, *διανείμωμαι* into *διανεμοῦμαι*. The only sigmatic subj. in Plato, Symp. 174 E (which I do not count as really final)¹ is to be turned into *ὅπως συνδειπνήσεις*. As usual Xenophon makes himself disagreeable by indulgence in shabby constructions, and we are obliged to let him have *πλεύσωμεν, ἐκπλεύσῃ, ἀπολαύσωμεν, ἐπιχαρίσῃται*. We find then for the thousandth time that Dawes' canon is exploded, and yet though the canon be exploded, though *ὅπως* with the future indicative in the final sentence proper be, as Weber calls it, an abuse, though it be an unwarranted extension of the complementary *ὅπως*, still few editors are so bold as not to dislodge a sigmatic aorist for the future whenever they have a chance.

11. *Final particles with ἄν (and κεν) in the final sentence proper.* Here statistics do not help much. According to views expressed before (IV 424), we cannot speak properly of a sentence with *ἄν* or *κεν* as purely final. The nearest approach is made by the opt. with *ἄν*, as the opt. with *ἄν* corresponds to the Latin subjunctive with the relative, which again has rather to do with character than purpose, as is seen by the limitations of its use. The employment of *ὅπως ἄν* with the subj. after a past tense is explained by Weber as Sturm explained the use of *πρὶν ἄν* by the analogy of *εἰάν* (Beiträge I, p.

¹ See above, p. 63.

286). This is another of the many amusing instances of the steadiness with which the authors of the *Beiträge* keep their eye fixed on their own achievements. Statistic is a valuable thing, but statistic does not always lead to vision; and unless we have vision before statistic we are not apt to find it afterwards. $\pi\rho\iota\nu \acute{\alpha}\nu = \eta\nu \mu\eta$ is a convenient formula, but it can hardly be called a new one;¹ $\acute{\omicron}\pi\omega\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\nu = \eta\nu \pi\omega\varsigma$ is an equation not unfamiliar to some of us, and the oracular way in which familiar facts are revealed to those who may be supposed to have had some acquaintance with the standard books on Greek grammar is a drawback to the confessedly good work that Schanz and his coadjutors are doing.

But we must hasten to a close, and not keep up the consideration of the final sentence until the final judgment.

12. In the *complementary final sentence* (final particles after verbs of will and endeavor) we notice the same reduction that was noticed in the final sentence proper. $\acute{\omicron}\pi\omega\varsigma$, which is the most common particle for this relation in Homer, is the most common for Attic prose. $\iota\nu\alpha$ which plays such a part in later Greek has hardly any footing. Xenophon is abnormal, for he employs not only $\acute{\omicron}\pi\omega\varsigma$ and $\acute{\omicron}\pi\omega\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\nu$, but also $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ and $\acute{\omega}\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\nu$.

13. As to the moods in the *complementary final sentences with $\acute{\omicron}\pi\omega\varsigma$ and $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$* we find the future predominating over the subj. and opt. except in Xenophon, and the show for the sigmatic aorist is much poorer than in the final sentence proper, so poor in fact that Weber formulates his results thus: "While in the complete final sentence the sigmatic subjunctive is supported by such testimony that no doubt can arise, there is no such evidence in the incomplete final sentence." So we are not rid of the *canon Dawesianus* after all, and not rid of the puzzle either. Why this repugnance to the sigmatic aorist, a repugnance which it would be idle to deny? Does the restriction to the incomplete final sentence help us at all? The leading verbs are verbs of ways and means, and we have to do with the process, which is better expressed by the future indicative; for the future indicative, though its *status actionis* is deadened somewhat, is a durative rather than a complexive. The sigmatic aorist is decidedly ingressive, and we do not want the ingressive action here, however desirable it may be in the final sentence proper. The second aorist is not ingressive but complexive only, and may more readily be tolerated. In the final sentence proper, however, the natural affinity for the aorist is

¹ Liddell and S.¹ s. v. A. J. P. II 480.

² A. J. P. IV 422.

too strong, and in the transfer of these complementary forms the model was neglected and first or sigmatic aorists were admitted.

14. *Future optative*. The first fut. opt. on record is Pindar, P. 9, 126, σχήσοι. It comes into the language to complete the scheme of the *oratio obliqua* opt., just as the fut. inf. seems to have come in to complete the scheme of the *oratio obliqua* infinitive.¹ The occasional use of it in the final sentence for the future indic. in *oratio obliqua* begins with Isokrates. Isokr. 17, 22 and Plato, Euthyph. 15 D, are cited for future opt. in sentences of fear.

15. The *independent* (commonly called *elliptical*) *sentence with ὅπως*. This imperative ὅπως belongs clearly to familiar language. The statistic of its use is significant:

Aischylos	1
Sophokles	1
Euripides	1
Aristophanes	42
Herodotos	1
Lysias	2
Isaios	1
Demosthenes (corpus)	9
Plato (corpus)	13
Xenophon	2
	<hr/>
	83

The evidence is decidedly against the use of the subj.

If we survey the long and somewhat arid path through which we have been led, we shall find that we have gained somewhat clearer and sharper vision of the phenomena of this important class of sentences. How much there is that is positively new will depend on the reader's familiarity with Greek either at first or at second hand. Nearly every point that has been emphasized with the solemnity of a revelation is recorded somewhere else. But this does not detract from the merit of the investigation. We cannot expect to discover many startling facts in Greek syntax, but we may hope by the assemblage of facts to master more fully the secret of Greek expression, and we see here, as we have seen elsewhere, that while the tide has its rights, the swimmer has his also. We are positively grateful to Xenophon for daring to differ

¹Trans. Am. Phil. Asso. 1878, p. 9.

so widely from his period ; and we are happy to recognize the fresh life of conversation that springs up amid the crystallizing forms of Greek syntax. When we go further down we shall have a much harder task to distinguish between drift and mannerism than between current and style.¹

B. L. GILDERSLEEVE.

¹No attempt has been made to verify Weber's statistic. That would be to do the work all over again ; and although, judging by similar cases, errors may have crept in here and there, the general result is doubtless sufficiently trustworthy.

VI.—NOTES.

ON SPANISH METAPHORS.

The following notes are intended to be a slight contribution to the collection of Spanish metaphors contained in Dr. Brinkmann's work: "Die Metaphern. Studien über den Geist der modernen Sprachen. 1 Bd. Die Thierbilder der Sprache." If any of the criticisms or additions made here have appeared elsewhere I am not aware of it, and may say that I have gathered them independently while reading for other purposes.

In the arrangement of the material it will be most convenient to follow the order observed in Brinkmann's work. After adducing a number of metaphorical expressions characteristic of the ecclesiastical life of Spain, the author says (p. 146): "Aus der soeben dargestellten Metapher ersieht man, dass der spanische Humor vor nichts, auch vor dem Heiligsten nicht, zurückbebt. Vor nichts—mit einer kleinen Ausnahme, die *Geistlichen selbst*. Denn in dem gelobten Lande der Inquisition und der Autos de fé ist es gefährlich den Zorn dieser Herren zu wecken. Die Beziehungen der Geistlichen sind daher durchaus ohne Metapherbildung geblieben und selbst so leicht hingeworfene Ausdrücke wie Le Sage's Wort: *dormir comme un inquisiteur*, für: in einem vortrefflichen Bette schlafen, dürfte man in der spanischen Litteratur vergebens suchen." But a glance in a Spanish dictionary, if nothing else, would have shown the writer that even the clergy are not exempt from their share of metaphorical treatment. A few illustrations, which might be easily increased in number by a more extensive search, may suffice here.

Caminaban no con la flema y reposo de los bueyes, sino como quien iba sobre *mulas de canónigos* (on well-fed mules).—D. Q. I 47.

No habrá *par de canónigos* mas regalados que vosotros lo sereis.—Cerv., La ilustre fregona.

Mas contenta que si la hubiesen dado *una canongia*.—Cerv., La tia fingida.

No dejaré de embarcarme si me lo pidiesen *frailes descalzos*.¹—D. Q. II 29.

¹ In the times of Cervantes the barefooted friars enjoyed the reputation of great piety.

No lo creyera si me lo dijeran *frailes descalzos*.—D. Q. II 48.

Félix Marte de Hircania, que de un reves solo partió cinco gigantes por la cintura como si fueran hechos de habas como *los frailecicos* que hacen los niños.¹—D. Q. I 32.

The *abad*, abbot, is the subject of a number of proverbial expressions, of which the following two occur in Don Quijote:

Si bien canta el abad, no le va en zaga el monacillo.—D. Q. II 25.

El abad de lo que canta yanta.—D. Q. II 60, 71.

The clergy are known for having a sweet tooth:

Si traen dulces, te huelgas, *como un Padre*, de comerlas.—Calderon, La Dama Duende, j. II, esc. 12.

The Dog.

p. 244. *Wheedling*: Menea la cola el can, no por tí, sino por el pan.—Fern. Caballero, Clemencia.

p. 245. *Cowardice*: E come Don Rodrigo s'era partito *colla coda tra le gambe*.—Manzoni, I promessi sposi, c. 33.

The following metaphorical uses of the dog, by which experience and haughtiness are expressed, deserve mention:

Experience: Soy pierro viejo y entiendo todo tus tus.—D. Q. II 33.

Haughtiness: Vióse el perro en bragas de cerro, y no conoció á su compañero.—D. Q. II 50.

The Spaniard looks upon a dog with a bell as a dangerous possession, a kind of "Danaergeschenk." Thus Sancho says in reference to the bag he found in the Sierra Morena: Allí la dejé, y allí se queda como se estaba, que no quiero *perro con conserro*.—D. Q. I 23.

The Horse.

Speaking of the use of "horse" with the sense of "large" in compounds, Brinkmann omits to mention instances from the Spanish. Here are a few which I have been able to find: *Acibar caballuno*, horse-aloe; *caballa*, horse-mackerel; *cepacaballo*, cardoon; *cepacaballos de Portugal*, *Xanthium spinosum*; *risa de caballo*, horse-laugh (*carcajada*); *cara de caballo*, a coarse face; cf. the English "horse-faced." Como me faltes al respeto

¹ Puppets resembling friars which the Spanish children used to make out of bean-cods.

... te rompo á puñetazos *esa cara de caballo* ... ¿estás? — Galdós, Juan Martin El Empecinado, c. 12.

p. 298. With the Italian *cavallo* and *cavallone*, billow, compare the Spanish *caballon*, the ridge of a furrow.

p. 308. *caballero* has the meaning of *swift* (as swift as a rider): Pero como es ligero el tiempo ... corrió *caballero en las horas*, y con mucha presteza llegó la de la mañana.—D. Q. II 46.

It has furthermore the sense of *persistent, obstinate* (riding a hobby): Y él, *caballero* en su dañada y primera intencion, fué añadiendo caperuzas.—D. Q. II 45.

p. 316. To the proverbial phrase: ir de rocin á ruin (to go from bad to worse) Fernan Caballero offers a somewhat stronger parallel:

Como abandonado ya (el portentoso convento de San Martin Pinario) *camina* lentamente *de cadáver á esqueleto*, esto es que decae del abandono á las ruinas.—Fern. Caballero, Cosa Cumplida solo en la otra vida, VI.

p. 340. The attitude which the horse maintains during the process of shoeing has furnished the Spaniard with the following bold metaphor: Tenerle á uno el pié al herrar, to try one's disposition or character.

Debe de pensar el buen hombre sin duda que nos dormimos aquí en las pajas, pues *ténganos el pié al herrar*, y verá del que cojeamos.—D. Q. II 4.

Luego esta niña á esa cuenta, replicó el caballero, debe de dejarse manosear y requebrar de los huéspedes. Sí, respondió la gallega, *tenedle el pié al herrar*, bonita es la niña para eso.—Cerv., La ilustre fregona.

A synonymous and equally bold metaphor is: tomar el pulso, which is used in regard to persons and things in the sense of: to try, to test, to estimate.

Y el día de hoy ... *antes se toma el pulso* al haber que al saber: At the present day they inquire rather after what one possesses than after what one knows.—D. Q. II 20.

The skittishness of the horse finds expression in the proverb: Uno piensa el bayo y otro el que le ensilia.—Cerv., La Jitanilla.

The Ass.

The thistle is named after the animal whose favorite food it is: Igualmente quiero honrar á un cardo de los que llamamos aquí *borriqueros*, que vi en el jardín del colegio de medicina, que habia

crecido á tan extraordinaria altura, que en Escocia hubiese sido el Walter Scott de sus cardos; puesta yo en pié, alzando el brazo y levantando con este mi sombrilla, no alcanzaba á su flor.—Fern. Cab., Cosa Cumplida, etc., VI.

The Cat.

p. 397. The Spaniard warns of a snare or hidden danger by saying: Hay gato encerrado; to which compare the English, to let the cat out of the bag.

En todo esto, por mas natural que Vds. lo pinten, *hay gato encerrado*.—Fern. Cab., Un Verano en Bornos.

To the falseness of the cat, the Spanish language bears testimony in the following expressions: *Engatusar* (*cantusar*), to ensnare; *engatusamiento*, deception; *engatar*, to cheat; *engatado*, thief.

No las hace él (las medicinas) sino el boticario, y cátao *cantusado*.
D. Q. II 71.

Compare to these the Portuguese *engaticar* or *engatimar*, which I found in a poem of the 16th century published by Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcellos in Herrig's Archiv (vol. LXV):

Leixo', ja
Que o senhor nos vingará
De quem nos *engaticou*.

—Pratica de tres pastores na noite da Natal.

p. 422. The Spaniard says: Correr como gato por brasas, to illustrate the quickness with which any one flees from a danger, to run as quick as a cat through burning coals. Utter helplessness or worthlessness is expressed by the phrase: No estar para dar migas á un gato, that is, not to be able even to feed a cat; to which compare the English: Not fit to swinge a cat, and the more vulgar: Not fit to carry guts to a bear; while the German says: Ich bin nicht im stande einen hund vom ofen zu locken.

Responde en buena hora, dijo Don Quijote, Sancho amigo, que yo no estoy *para dar migas á un gato*, segun traigo alborotado y trastornado el juicio.—D. Q. II 66.

The Ox.

p. 451. The synonym *novillo* is also used metaphorically in the phrase: *Hacer novillos*, to play truant. (Ausentarse de alguna parte, dejar de asistir á ella. Tiene mas uso hablando de los jóvenes cuando faltan á la escuela ó á su enseñanza.—Dicc. de la Acad.)

The Goat.

A number of proverbs and proverbial phrases are omitted in Brinkmann's work which may be found in the Dictionary of the Spanish Academy.

In *cabrahigo* (Lat. *caprificus*), wild fig-tree, *cabra* has the sense of "wild," just as βovs, ἵππος, *caballo*, ox and horse in compounds mean "large, coarse."

p. 476. The Spanish equivalent of the English expression: to make one a scape-goat, is: Cargarle á uno las cabras, or echar las cabras á otro.

Cabra was the name of an engine formerly used for throwing stones. *Cabrillear* means: to make stones skip along the surface of the water. In dictionaries I find among the significations of *cabras* that of *white clouds floating* in the air, which are also named *ovejilas* and in Italian *pecorelle*.

The Sheep.

p. 487. Brinkmann says: "Den spanischen Wörtern *carnero* und *oveja* fehlen beide metaphorische Bedeutungen, sowol die von dumm, als die von furchtsam, und nur in einem Sprüchworde tritt letztere hervor: Oveja hasta de su rabo se espanta."

In the following refrain *carnero* figures as the picture of stupidity: *El carnero encantado que fué por lana y volvió trasquilado*.—This occurs frequently in the shorter form: *Ir por lana y volver trasquilado*, D. Q. I. 7; II, 43, 67.

Carnero is also used metaphorically in the phrase: No hay tales *carneros*, There is no such thing; to which compare the synonymous expression: No hay tales borregos. *Borrego* has the sense of "simpleton."

From *lana*, wool, has been developed the familiar phrase: Cardarle á uno la lana, to win of one a large sum in gambling, to fleece one. This phrase has the secondary meaning, to reprimand one severely.

Fowls.

p. 515. To the German: Schlafender Fuchs fängt kein Huhn, the Spanish has the parallel: A raposo durmiente no le amanece la gallina en el vientre.

p. 514. The Spanish language uses the hen as a picture of helplessness. Thus we find in D. Q. II 49 the refrain: La

mujer y la gallina por andar se pierden aina, The woman and the hen are easily lost by gadding abroad.

p. 533. Chickens are proverbial not only for rising early, but also for retiring betimes. Hence the phrase: Acostarse con las gallinas, to go to bed with the hens. The midnight-mass in Spain is called, la misa del gallo.

p. 535. The crowing of the cock has given an expression for duration of time: Las guerrillas eran despachadas por las nuestras *en ménos que canta un gallo*. — Galdós, Zaragoza, c. VIII.

p. 541. To the German proverb: Das Huhn legt gerne in's Nest, wo schon Eier sind, compare the Spanish: Sobre un huevo pone la gallina.—D. Q. II 7.

p. 548. The French phrase: fils de la poule blanche, occurs also in Spanish: hijo de la gallina blanca.

From the cock-fights, at which bets are made on the strongest-looking cock, the Spanish has derived the phrase: El rey es mi gallo, which is to say: That's my man. In this sense it is found in the relation of the wedding festivities of the wealthy Camacho (D. Q. II 20), where Sancho Panza says: *El rey es mi gallo*, á Camacho me tengo.

In closing these additions to Dr. Brinkmann's work I cannot but give expression to the hope that other scholars may come to his assistance in the laborious but interesting and rewarding study of metaphor in language, which plays so important a part in the functional development of words.

ON SPANISH GRAMMAR.

The following notes contain a number of additions to various points of Spanish grammar such as it is presented in the excellent practical work of Knapp, and in the "Spanische Sprachlehre," by Paul Förster, which embodies the first attempt at a scientific and exhaustive treatment of the laws and facts of the Spanish language.

I. Pronouns.

lo. Knapp (§282, a) says in a remark on *lo que*: "In popular language one often hears *lo que* employed in the sense of *as for*, probably an ellipse for *por lo que toca á—*." This locution is frequently met with in modern literature, notably in novels.

Lo que es su suegro, le regalaba constantemente muy hermosas y prosáicas onzas de oro, que Clemencia rehusó al principio con modesta pero firme decision. (Fernan Caballero, *Clemencia*, p. II, c. 2.) Immediately after the more regular *en cuanto á* is used: En cuanto á su suegra, en nada de esas cosas se metia. No puede ser esta noche; pero *lo que es mañana*, ó hablo, ó me corto la lengua. (Galdós, *La Fontana de Oro*, c. 10); Ah! *Lo que es esto*, no hay quien me haga creer en el infierno. (Galdós, *Gloria*, I, c. 21). Los (libros) castellanos, *lo que es los castellanos* eran para él tortas y pan pintado. (Mariano Catalina.) Pero esto lo pienso ahora; pues *lo que es entonces*, . . . sólo pensaba en los aguerridos ojos de Antoñita. (Alarcon, *La última calaverada*.)

One hears a similar expression in some Swiss dialects: "Was das ist," or, "was nun die Sache ist," with the sense: "was das anlangt," as for that.

Este and *ese*. Knapp (§263, a): "In correspondence, the words *ciudad*, city, and *plaza*, market, are usually suppressed with *esta* and *esa* after the preposition *en*, in; *en esta* is therefore rendered *here*, and *en esa*, *there* or *with you*."

The same obtains with the prepositions *á* and *para*:

Parto mañana *para esa*. — Fer. Cab., *Un Verano en Bornos*, carta 25.

Regresamos *á esa* la semana que viene.—l. c. carta 29.

eso. Preceded by the preposition *á* this pronoun forms the adverbial phrase *á eso de*, in the sense of *about*, used with expressions of time.

Mi sobrino llegará esta noche *á eso de* las ocho. (Galdós, *La Fontana de Oro*, c. 8.) La ataqué (la barra) por otra parte, y al fin *á eso de* la media noche quedó en mis manos. (Galdós, *Juan Martin el Empecinado*, c. 27.) *A eso de* las once el sol entraba por los balcones de la sala principal. (Alarcon, *La Comendadora*.) *A eso de* las tres de la madrugada oí golpecitos á la cabecera de mi cama.—Alarcon, *La belleza ideal*.

To the list of nouns given by Förster (*Spanische Sprachlehre*, §411) as taking the place of indefinite pronouns, the following may be added:

adarme, half a drachm. Tened, pues, un *adarme* de paciencia. (Galdós, *Bailén*, c. 32.) Ni un *adarme* de lagartija en su escudo. (l. c. c. 17.)

ápice, tittle, iota. Léjos está de nuestra mente el cercenar ni un *ápice* á la lástima. (Fern. Cab., *Cosa Cumplida* . . . solo en la

otra vida, VI.) Cf. the Latin: Nullum apicem quaestionis praetermittere. (Arnobius.)

blanca, copper coin. Holgaréme de quedarme pobre y sin *blanca*.—Don Quijote, II 28.

cabrahigo, wild fig. No se me da por cuantas dueñas hay un *cabrahigo*.—D. Q. II 37.

cacdo, cocoa-nut. No lo estimamos en un *cacdo*.—Cerv., La jitanilla.

cantueso, lavender. Y aun todo eso fuera *flores de cantueso*.—D. Q. II 5.

caracol, snail. No importa un *caracol*.

cuatrin, small coin. Sin él no vale un *cuatrin* la buena fama.—D. Q. II 62.

dedito, little finger. La (ciencia) de la caballeria andante, respondió Don Quijote, que es tan buena como la de la poesía, y aun *dos dedos* mas.—D. Q. II 18.

orégano, wild marjoram. ¿Como que te parecia todo el monte *orégano*?—Fer. Cab., Clemencia, V.

ostugo, vestige, trace. Que no tiene *ostugo* de moneda.—D. Q. II 54.

pepino, cucumber. No darsele un *pepino*.

pico, point = odd. A pesar de los tres millones y *pico* que produjo su obra. (Mariano Catalina.) Dos mil y *pico* de reales. (Galdós, La Fontana de Oro, c. 19.) Trece mil y un *pico* de intereses. (Galdós, Zaragoza, c. 15.)

pizca, jot, bit. Ni *pizca*, nothing at all. No tengo *pizca* de sueño.—Alarcon, Sin un cuarto.

tilde, tittle. Sin añadir ni quitar de la verdad *una tilde*. (Cerv., Coloq. de los perros.) Sin que le faltase *tilde*. (Fer. Cab., Un Verano en Bornos, carta 25.)

II. *Perfect participle passive*.

Amenazado is found with the active sense in the following passage :

Antes que ocupen el paso

Las *amenazadas* huestes de Portugal.

—Calderon, El Principe Constante, j. III, esc. 5.

III. *Adverbs*.

Under the adverbs of degree Förster (§478) omits to mention

obra de or *á obra de*, which has the sense of about (cf. the English a matter of . . .), and occurs very frequently.

Desnudóse á su costado,
obra de un Ave María:
 levantóse dando voces
 á la gente que tenía.

—Romance del conde Alarcos.

Tornaron á su comenzado camino del puerto Ládice, y *á obra de* las tres del día le descubrieron. (D. Q. I 8.) *Á obra de* doce ó catorce estados de la profundidad desta mazmorra. (D. Q. II 23.) La Duquesa y Don Quijote se adelantaron *obra de* doce pasos á recibirla. (D. Q. II 38.) Tenemos en Portugal *obra de* veinte mil inglesones. (Galdós, Napoleon en Chamartin, c. 1.) With expressions of time *á eso de* is now taking the place of *á obra de*.

IV. Prepositions.

En is found with the significations "at" in place of *á*, and "against." *At*: Aun hasta en las consejas que en las largas noches del invierno *en* la chimenea sus criadas contaban. (Cerv., El celoso extremeño.) Puesto que Vd. no estuvo á las siete *en* la mesa, no puede almorzar. (Galdós, La Fontana de Oro, c. 25.) *En* la mesa habíamos hablado de Madrid. (Alarcon, El Clavo.) Algunos meses despues estaban una noche sentados *en* la mesa del brasero, Clemencia y Pablo. (Fer. Cab., Clemencia.). *Against*: (Lat. in c. acc.): Veráscuanto valor *en* tí me falta, Que *en* tu gente me sobra. (Calderon, La Devocion de la Cruz, j. III, esc. 9.)

Debajo de, under, has besides its material meaning the figurative one: provided that. Cada uno es hijo de sus obras, y *debajo de ser* hombre puedo venir á ser papa. (D. Q. I 47.) Decía que . . . *debajo de ser* soldado al mismo rey no debía nada. (D. Q. I 51.) Y *debajo de saber* esto, filosofa ahora cuanto quisieras. (Cerv., Coloq. de los perros.)

The prepositions *amen de* and *á fuer de*, which occur frequently both in the older and the modern language, are omitted in the grammars of Knapp, Wiggers and Förster (who mentions the former one). *Amen de* means "except" and "besides." (1) "Except": Si vuestra merced, señor caballero, busca posada, *amen del lecho* (porque en esta venta no hay ninguna) todo lo demas se hallará en ella en mucha abundancia (D. Q. I 2). Pues Dios loado, mi alma me tengo en las carnes, y todos mis dientes y muelas en la

boca, *amen de* unos pocos que me han usurpado unos catarros que en esta tierra de Aragon son tan ordinarios (D. Q. II 48). Las bailadoras, *amen de* las dos gallegas y de la Argüello, fueron otras tres mozas de otra posada (La ilustre fregona). (2) "Besides": Cuando yo servia, respondió Sancho, á Tomé Carrasco, . . . dos ducados ganaba todo mes, *amen de* la comida (D. Q. II 28). Andres . . . yo soy doncella y rica, que mi madre no tiene otro hijo sino á mí, y este meson es suyo, y *amen desto* tiene muchos majuelos (Cerv., La jitanilla). Pusiéronse en camino con mulas propias y con dos criados de casa, *amen del* ayo (La ilustre fregona). Que en esta casa hay muchos provechos, *amen de* los salarios (La ilustre fregona). *Amen de* los corredores del asno, estaban otros cuatro aguadores jugando á la primera (La ilustre fregona). Tiene, *amen de* esto, mas de medio milloncito de renta (Fer. Cab., Clemencia, parte III, c. 12). Conservaban el traje clerical de las áulas . . . *amen de* la faja de cuero para el pedreñal (Galdós, Juan Martin el Empecinado, c. 3). En cuyas reuniones, *amen de* las muchas pantomimas comunes á esta órden famosa, leíanse versos y se pronunciaban discursos. (Galdós, Napoleon en Chamartin, c. 1.)

á fuer de, by right of, in the manner of.

El cual le abrazó con grandísimo contento, *á fuer del* que tuvo el padre del hijo pródigo (Cerv., La ilustre fregona). Estaba yo entónces bizarrísimo, el sombrero con plumas y cintillo, el vestido de colores *á fuer de* soldado (Cerv., El casamiento engañoso). Aqueso es lindo! Una que, *á fuer de* pastel, mandó álguien hacer hechizo (Calderon, En esta vida todo es verdad y todo mentira, j. III, esc. 9). Estoy léjos de rechazar los cumplidos, no por merecerlos, sino porque *á fuer de* mujer, los creo un incienso suave (Fer. Cab., Cosa Cumplida, etc. II). Tenemos que hacer una salvedad *á fuer de* verídicos y exactos narradores (Trueba, El Cid Campeador). Añadiendo que él, *á fuer de* alcalde, tomaba para sí toda la responsabilidad (Galdós, Gloria II, c. 14). La vestimenta que nosotros, los hijos del 33, irreverentes *á fuer de* despreocupados, dedicamos á mil profanaciones (Alarcon, De Madrid á Nápoles). Buscando, *á fuer de* inocente, una salida. (Alarcon, El Clavo.)

Followed by an infinitive: Silvestre, *á fuer de* ser su allegado, . . . estuvo desde luego dispuesto á ello (Fer. Cab., Clemencia, p. I, c. 9). Bien podia haber pasado esa carta insolente entre las señoras del gran mundo, que *á fuer de* merecerlas tienen que sufrirlas. (Fer. Cab., Clemencia, p. III, c. 9.)

cara. To Förster's enumeration of prepositions derived from nouns (§497, 4) is to be added *cara*=hácia (κάπα and *facia* for *facies*), *versus*, towards, which is found in the Romance del rey don Fernando I. (Cancionero de Romances, s. a.):

Doliente estaba, doliente,
ese buen rey don Fernando;
los piés tiene *cara oriente*
y la candela en la mano.

The edition of 1550 has *hácia* in place of *cara*.

V. Conjunctions.

The following conjunctions, not mentioned in the grammars of Förster and Knapp, are met with in modern literature:

toda vez que, inasmuch as, since: Puede decirse que el "Hernan Cortés" es uno de los mejores buques de nuestra marina mercante, *toda vez que* todo cuanto se ve á bordo ha sido construido con arreglo á los últimos adelantos (Diario de Barcelona, Abril 1884). Preguntéle si permanecía aquel pasajero en Lisboa, á lo que contestó que creía que no, *toda vez que* despues de la salida del vapor no habia vuelto á verle (Fer. Cab., Lady Virginia, c. 2). Estas dos opiniones dieron pié á una acalorada disputa que no copio porque nada sacarian de ella en limpio mis lectores, *toda vez que* es público y notorio que en lo que vá de siglo, la historia no ha podido dilucidar la cuestion planteada por aquellas niñas . . . —Galdós, Napoleon en Chamartin, c. 4.

bueno que — ó *bien*, whether — or: *Bueno que* para el ama de llaves sea Adrian Baker el diablo en persona, ó *bien* un hombre que tiene el demonio en el cuerpo, ó al ménos un sér extraordinario que posee el secreto diabólico de algun filtro prodigioso.—D. José Selgas, La Mariposa Blanca.

Como seems to be employed in the sense of "that not" after expressions of warning and prohibiting; a use which I do not find registered in any grammar.

Cuidado *como* lloras (Galdós, Juan Martin el Empecinado, c. 26). Gabrielillo, cuidado *como* coges nada (Galdós, El 19 de Marzo y 2 de Mayo, c. 9). Take care *how* you cry, *how* you take anything, that is, take care *not* to cry, *not* to take anything.

This use of *como* may probably be compared to that of the Latin *ut* after verbs of fearing or anxiety. *Timeo ut veniat* means: I am uncertain, I fear *how* he may come, the idea being: I fear he

will not come. In place of *ut* we find indeed *quem ad modum* used with the same negative thought underlying. *Haec quem ad modum explicari possint* aut, a tecum explicabuntur, ne impediuntur *timeo* (Brutus in Cic. Fam. XI 10). Cf. Cornific. IV 37, 49: *Dicimus nos timere quomodo accipiant*.

As Prof. Shepherd kindly informs me, such expressions as: Take care *how* you play with it, signifying take care *not* to play with it, are frequently heard in colloquial English.

HENRY R. LANG.

ON THE THEAETETOS OF PLATO.

In this dialogue, 169 D, occurs the following passage: *Τοῦδε τοίνυν πρῶτον πάλιν ἀντιλαβόμεθα οὐπὲρ τὸ πρότερον, καὶ ἴδωμεν, ὁρθῶς ἢ οὐκ ὁρθῶς ἐδυσχεραίνομεν ἐπιτιμῶντες τῷ λόγῳ, ὅτι αὐτάρκη ἕκαστον εἰς φρόνησιν ἐποίει, καὶ ἡμῖν ξυνεχώρησεν ὁ Πρωταγόρας περὶ τε τοῦ ἀμείνονος καὶ χείρονος διαφέρειν τινάς, οὓς δὴ καὶ εἶναι σοφοὺς.* The words I propose to notice are *καὶ ἡμῖν ξυνεχώρησεν ὁ Πρωταγόρας*; what is their connection with the foregoing clauses, and what (for that seems the point on which everything hinges) is the construction and sense of the dative *ἡμῖν*?

Campbell, in his second edition of the dialogue, says in his note on these words: "The sentence breaks and reverts to the direct form," adding in a parenthesis, "Others, with Heindorf, 'and whether Protagoras was right in admitting.'" Jowett seems to take Campbell's view, for he renders: "In the first place, let us return to our old objection, and see whether we were right in blaming and taking offence at Protagoras on the ground that he assumed all to be equal and sufficient in wisdom; although he admitted that there was a better and a worse, and that in respect of this, some, who he said were wise, excelled others." In Hirschig's edition, in the Didot collection, the Latin rendering, which is that of Ficinus corrected, runs: "*Idem igitur primum, quod superius, resumamus ac videamus, utrum recte, necne, sermonem illius morose improbaverimus, quo unum quemque ad sapientiam sibimet sufficere dicit, et nobis concessit Protagoras, in eo quod melius vel deterius inter se quosdam differre, quos etiam esse sapientes.*"

In the rendering of Ficinus the words in question seem to be connected with the clause *ὅτι αὐτάρκη ἕκαστον εἰς φρόνησιν ἐποίει*: this

is unquestionably wrong. To take them as a reversion to direct or independent construction seems to me unnecessary, and, as unnecessary, therefore wrong. The connection as given by "Heindorf and others" is to my mind the only correct one; but his rendering I cannot accept. In all the above given explanations of the passage *ἡμῖν* is made to depend on *ἐννεχώρησεν* (or if not, it has been passed over and no adequate force given to it); whereas it has no dependence upon this verb whatever.

But it will be well, before going any further, to consider what it is that had been previously said and is now to be examined anew. Theaitetos had defined knowledge to be sensation; this definition Sokrates had shown to be equivalent to the dictum of Protagoras, "man is the measure," or in other words, that "what appears to a man is to him." This dictum was then attacked. If it be correct, is not each man quite as wise as any of his fellows? Nay, does it not apply equally well to all percipient beings? Is Protagoras then any wiser than an animal, and is not Theaitetos as wise as any god? If, again, knowledge is sensation, a man knows when he sees, but not when he remembers. As, too, he may at once see and not see, when he has one eye open and the other shut, he may at once know and not know the same thing; he may know it, too, dimly and clearly, near and far off, etc., just as he may see it in these various ways. It is then asked, 'What reply would Protagoras make to all this?' Theaitetos being completely staggered by the objections offered, and Theodoros shrinking from a dialectic encounter with Sokrates, the latter finds himself forced to assume the defence of Protagoras and to speak in his name. Protagoras would say: Your objections may frighten children, but not men like me. I admit all this that you say about knowing; it does not in the least affect the facts of my theory. A man's recollection of a sensation is quite a different thing from the sensation itself. Your previous statement that my theory would make all men equally wise is faulty. To the sick man sweet may taste bitter, and it is bitter to him. But the physician comes to him, puts him in a sound condition by means of medicines, and henceforth sweet is sweet to him. So a man is in bad condition mentally, and his perception of what is right is influenced by that condition; yet what seems to him right is for him right. This man falls into the hands of the sophist, and by argument is bettered in his mental condition, and his perception of the right is bettered accordingly. There is, then, a difference in men, as between the wiser and the

less wise; but it is a difference, not in the truth of their perceptions, but in their mental condition, which affects their perceptions, as sickness and health are well known to do. This is Sokrates' conception of the defence Protagoras would make, if he were alive and present.

Again, let us look at what Sokrates says immediately after the passage under discussion. 'If he had been present in person and had made this admission instead of our making it for him, there would be no need to resume the argument and confirm it; but as matters stand, it may be objected that we have exceeded our powers in making such admissions in his defence.'

Now, in the light of these passages, is it not clear that what was to be looked into was not whether Protagoras was right or wrong in making certain admissions (still less was it to be taken for granted that he had made them), but whether Sokrates was right or wrong in supposing he would make them? The connection of the clause is then that given by Heindorf; but ἡμῖν, instead of depending on *ξυνεχώρησεν*, is the indefinite dative of the person interested in the statement *ξυνεχώρησεν κ. τ. λ.*; the person 'to whose mind a thing is so,' 'according to whose belief, or words, a thing is so,' etc. The sense of the passage then is: 'Let us see whether we were right or wrong in blaming and taking offence at the dictum, on the ground that it made each man self-sufficient as regards wisdom, and whether we were right or wrong in supposing Protagoras to admit a difference of better and worse in men, and in this respect the superiority of some who he said were wise.'

For the use of *συγχωρέω* without a dative and with the accusative and infinitive, cf. Rep. 6, 489 D: *καὶ ἐγὼ συνεχώρησα ἀληθῆ σε λέγειν*. For the dative, cf. Theait. 154 E: *πρῶτον βουλευσόμεθα θεάσασθαι αὐτὰ πρὸς αὐτά, τί ποτ' ἐστὶν ἃ διανοούμεθα, πότερον ἡμῖν ἀλλήλοις συμφωνεῖ ἢ οὐδ' ὁπωστιοῦν*, 'Let us see by comparing them together what our notions really are, whether they seem to us to agree with one another or not at all.' Theait. 166 A: *ἐπειδὴ αὐτῷ παιδίον τι ἐρωτηθὲν ἔδεισεν*, 'When he had found a child who was terrified by the question.' Theait. 175 B: *Ὅταν δέ γέ τινα αὐτός, ὦ φίλε, ἐλκύσῃ ἄνω, καὶ ἐθελήσῃ τις αὐτῷ ἐκβῆναι ἐκ τοῦ τί ἐγὼ σὲ ἀδικῶ ἢ σὺ ἐμέ;* 'Yes, but when, my friend, he has raised a man to a higher plane and has induced him to abandon such questions as, What wrong have I done you or you me?' Soph. 237 A: *Παρμενίδης δὲ ὁ μέγας, ὦ παῖ, παῖσιν μὲν ἡμῖν οὖσιν, ἀρχόμενος δὲ καὶ διὰ τέλους τοῦτο ἀπεμαρτύρατο*, 'It was in our boyhood, my son, that we heard the great Parmenides

bearing this testimony, which from first to last he never ceased to bear.' Of course, as Sokrates was then a boy, this testimony was not addressed to him ; he happened to hear it ; that was all. Rep. I, 343. A : Ὅτι τοί σε, ἔφη, κορυζῶντα περιορᾷ καὶ οὐκ ἀπομύττει δεόμενον, ὅς γε αὐτῇ οὐδὲ πρόβατα οὐδὲ ποιμένα γιγνώσκεις, 'Since she leaves you in ignorance of what is a sheep and what is a shepherd.'

W. A. LAMBERTON.

REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

Slawo-Deutsches und Slawo-Italienisches. Dem Herrn FRANZ VON MIKLOSICH zum 20 November, 1883. Graz, 1885. 138 S. 4.

Max Müller, in his "Lectures on the Science of Language," vol. I, p. 86, lays down two axioms to which he frequently appeals, throughout his work, for support of his position in the investigation of certain fundamental principles of language. The first of these axioms "declares grammar to be the most essential element, and therefore the ground of classification in all languages which have produced a definite grammatical articulation; the second *denies the possibility of a mixed language*"; and again, in accordance with the latter authoritative assumption, after noting the mixed character of the Turkish and English vocabularies, he adds the following unqualified assertion, p. 89, "Languages, however, though mixed in their dictionary, can never be mixed in their grammar." Professor Whitney, too, has expressed the same opinion, though couched in more careful language, when he says: "Such a thing as a language with a mixed grammatical apparatus has never come under the cognizance of linguistic students; it would be to them a monstrosity, it seems an impossibility."¹

These and other like statements induced one of the most profound and best-equipped European scholars, Prof. Schuchardt, of the University of Graz, to examine closely the whole subject of speech-mixture, and the latest results of his investigations for a given, definite field are presented in the above contribution, dedicated to the celebrated pioneer in Slavonic linguistic science, Prof. Franz von Miklosich, of the University of Vienna, on the celebration of his seventieth birthday, the twentieth of November, 1883.²

It is now more than a decade and a half since the author of this important contribution to linguistic science first set out upon the laborious task of a thorough, comparative study of the Creole dialects with the hope of throwing light upon the origin of the Romance languages. Behind this problem, which was believed to be conditioned in great measure by speech-mixture within special geographical limits, lay the broader field of inquiry into the validity of the current doctrine touching language-mixture in general, as propounded in Müller's Lectures and elsewhere. These *Kreolische Studien*,³ published in the Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie, vols. CI, CII, CIII, CV, cover the Negro-Portuguese of the Island of St. Thomas (West Africa); the Indo-Portuguese of Cochin, Diu and Mangalore; the Malayo-Spanish of the Philippine Islands, and yield the result of undoubted mixture of grammar-elements as well as of word-forms in these idioms. The greater part of these languages, in spite of the totally foreign

¹ Language and the Study of Language, p. 199.

² The publication has been delayed about a year.

³ Cf. American Journal of Philology, vol. V, p. 249.

nature of the English possessive case-sign 's, have incorporated it into their grammar-machinery so thoroughly that the original Romance mode of expressing the idea of possession by a prepositional relation (*de*) has been lost, and we have such constructions as *hombre's casa* = the man's house, *Alexandre's alma* = Alexander's spirit, etc. In the Mangalore dialect not only is all genitive relation thus expressed, but even the substantival composita follow the same rule, *e. g. ouru's quantia* = a quantity of gold, *cama's rupa* = bed-clothes.¹

It was with the idea that this mingling of apparently incompatible sentence-forms might be more easily studied where the speech-factors are most heterogeneous, that our author pushed forward here in his earliest researches into this question, which he regards as the problem of linguistic science to-day that deserves most to be investigated.² The rich material brought together from these sources belongs exclusively to non-European types of speech, and proves beyond question the existence of speech-mixture for these outlying idioms of the Romance stock. Believing that the same results might be obtained within the boundaries of the European linguistic domain, Prof. Schuchardt has chosen for the study before us a territory near at home for him and one that abounds in language-varieties, whose reciprocal influences in phonology, morphology and word-relation have been hitherto almost totally unknown to scholars generally. This is especially true for the Slawo-Deutsches, in the treatment of which he is a solitary pioneer.

This remarkable work completely upsets the old doctrine with reference to speech-mixture, and with its appearance a new era must be reckoned in the consideration of this fundamental problem of language. It is divided into five distinct parts, viz: 1. Introduction—Double cause of all speech-change. 2. Territory and sources. 3. Phonetics. 4. Lexicology. 5. Inner speech-form.

Under the first division our author notes the influence of the circumstances of life on a language, and then the influence of other languages. Here we have naturally the mixing of wholly different types, mixture among dialects, among individual languages or within a given language, the last named covering, of course, the ordinary phenomena of analogy. After proving the identity of these various stages of interchange, the writer goes on to consider the speech-mixture of literature.

The first step in a consideration of the various relations of different types of language to one another, is taken by rejecting the traditional language-tree and showing that we must substitute for it in cartographic representation the "wave system" with its perpetual overlappings, or a continuous gradation of colors, which, though they imperfectly illustrate the process of dialect intermixture, at least come nearer the truth in showing to the eye that there are no strict lines of demarcation drawn among the various speech-varieties. This same mode of representation was recommended by the author in his "Vokalismus des Vulgärlateins,"³ in his Leipziger Probevorlesung (1870), and was followed, in 1872, by the late Prof. Caix, and then by Joh. Schmidt for the Aryan languages generally, and again by Paul Meyer and others.

¹ Cf. American Journal of Philology, vol. V, p. 250.

² Literaturblatt für germanische und romanische Philologie, 1885, Nr. I.

³ Vokalismus des Vulgärlateins, Leipzig, 1866-68, 3 Bde.

With reference to the interchange of form, not only are flexional endings substituted for one another, but also the prefixes are confounded and thus contribute to new creations, as, for example, in the use of the verbs *anfangen* and *beginnen*, which, though generally regarded as synonyms, are not counted as such by the writer; in truth, he would agree with Steinthal, in opposition to Paul,¹ that there are no real synonyma. The Slovenian pupil, not making any sensible difference in force of meaning between these two words, confounds the prefixes and writes: *in diesem Jahre FING eine grosse krankheit zu wüthen*; and again, *im wasser BEGINNT der todte körper AN zu faulen*.

It was thus that such forms in German as *anbeginn*, from analogy with *anfang*, sprang up. With this procedure is compared, for the North Italian dialects, the production of the Emilian compound form *cominzia=cominciare+principiare*.² But the assimilation of form, through resemblance of idea, becomes much more difficult when we pass beyond the limits of a single language, and hence the French *commencer*, in its tendency to assume German forms with like functions, would not give us a simple *commencen* (as *schreiben* from old *scribere*) but the lengthened form *commenciren*.

In illustration of a similar mode of treatment, foreign suffixes are constantly found joined to native stems, as, for example, the German *-hard* in the Italian *fals-ardo*. In all such cases as this, the author would consider that an exchange of inflexional elements has taken place (*fals-ardo=fals-ario*), just as we find it so often within the limits of single speech-varieties, e. g. Latin *solit-aneus=solitari-arius*. So, too, the Old French nom. plural *empereor* (**imperator*), for *empereors*, was produced according to analogy with *ami* (*amici*). Again, the *-s* of the English plural goes back to an Anglo-Saxon *-as*, but owes its spread especially to the French *-s*, and we have in German analogous cases of its use, though their development has not been so extensive. For example, the so-called "schlechten" plurals, *albums*, *Leutnants*, *rouleaus*, etc., are based on the French *albums*, *Lieutenants*, etc.

Interesting illustrations for both flexion and word-formation are also drawn from the Greek, Roumanian, Spanish and English Gypsy dialects, which prove beyond question a mixture of different grammar-elements. As quoted from Pischel, the phrase, *I'd kom to jal andré mi Duvel's kêr when mandi mers*, "I wish to come into the house of my God, when I die," will show how deeply rooted these borrowed elements are and what an important rôle they play in the English Gypsy jargon.

In connection with this process of form-borrowing the question would naturally arise as to whether the suffixes are taken over from one language into another as separate, isolated elements, or only in connection with words to which they naturally belong. The former case, that is, that a German *-hard* should have directly supplanted the Latin *-ario* in *falsario*, is conceded to be possible but not probable. It is rather the transference of whole words, with their characteristic grammar forms, from one idiom to another, and then only after the new-comer, as one of the units of discourse, has settled into the strange

¹ Principien der Sprachgeschichte, 131 seq.

² Cf. also our American so-called Dutch dialect-forms: *possobably*, *agravoike*, *reckermember*, etc.

surroundings, is the handle, which is peculiarly its own, hung on to its neighbors that perform functions similar to it.

Speech-mixture, however, takes place not only where there is kinship of signification, but also where likeness of sound would seem to bring the meanings close together. Thus the German *sündfluth* = *great flood* has had its first syllable assimilated in meaning to *sünde* = *sin*,¹ and was thought of as a *sündenstrafende fluth*.

The most interesting species, however, of this linguistic mixture is to be found, according to our author's views, in the inner language-life, such, for example, as the representation of the infinitive by a subjunctive phrase,² the mutation of gender, etc.

For the territory covered by his investigations, the writer considers especially the Slavo-German population of Austria, and notes the various products of their speech-mixture, such as the so-called 'Kucheldeutsch' of the Czech, the Slavisms of Slavs living among Germans, of Germans living among Slavs, and then the more extensive, wide-spread Slavonic Austrianisms. For the Romance side, we have the Slavo-Italian of Triest, Istria, Fiume and Dalmatia, and especially in this last district the old Romance word-forms of Ragusa are of striking interest to the philologist. And here, too, we find two kinds of amalgamation, the one due to the individual, the other being the traditional mixture that has been handed down until it has become a settled mode of speech.

In the phonetics of these compound linguistic forms, there is much of interest not only for the Romance scholar, but for the general phonetician. It is here that our author finds a fresh support for his peculiar views with reference to epenthesis and syncopation in language. As far back as 1880, he announced his conviction that no sound is intercalated in or thrown out of language, but that all cases which bear such semblance are due to the principles of differentiation from or assimilation to neighboring sounds, out of which they have sprung or into which they have been merged. All *tenuis* are aspirated and therefore the 'steigerung' of a pure *tenuis* into an aspirate, or the development of a parasitic sound after the *tenuis*, would be a positive contradiction. The combinations *kya*, *kwa* were developed out of *kha*, *qha*, modifications of *kh*, so that here an affricative process took place just as in the Swiss *kxa* = *kha*; and the aspirate *h* was never wanting to the *k*. The Slavs, as they possess only pure *tenuis*, accuse the Germans of saying *khalt*, *thag*, *phain*, etc., while the Germans, on the other hand, find in the *k* of the Slavs their *g*; hence the graphic representation of *kinderle*, in the Czecho-German dialect, by *ginderle*. There is only one district in Germany where unaspirated *k* is heard, and the author would consider this a remnant of Slavonic influence. Instead of *Khaizer*, the native of Leipzig says *Kaiser*, which sounds to other Germans as *Gaiser*.

So far as the interchange of phonetic elements is concerned, we have, for the consonants, Slavonic *h* = Ital. *g*; Slav. *b* = German *w*; Slav. *ž* = Ital. voiced *s* and German *s*, etc.; for the vowels, Slav. *ę, o* = German *e, o*; Slav. *i, u* = Ital. *e, o*. We further find *a* as a favorite representative of the atonic vowels in

¹ Sayce, *The Principles of Comparative Philology*, second ed. p. 380.

² Cf., for the Romance languages, the Wallachian especially.

Italian, and along with this a decided antipathy to all diphthongs and initial vowels.

On the lexicological side of his subject, the author has brought up some important examples that were hitherto unknown or had been overlooked; for instance, in the case of wide-spread forms such as French *sabot*, *savate*, etc. of whose identity with Persian *šabātan*, Russian *žobot*, Wallachian *ciobotă* = *shoe, boot*, there can be no doubt. The leading Czech elements in the German of Bohemia and of Vienna and Carinthia; the Slovakian in the German of the mountainous districts of Hungary; the Slavonian in the Italian of Triest, in the Friulian and Venice dialects, and the Croatian in the idioms of Istria and Dalmatia are carefully presented, and their intricate and delicate relations unravelled with a clearness that excites admiration for this extraordinary dialect-erudition of a scholar who had already shown himself a protagonist in the field of Low Latin. Among the author's observations upon the various modes of word-borrowing and lexical production, the Romance student will find a special interest in those that touch upon the resemblance between the procedure here in operation for the German and that which obtained with reference to the Teutonic elements, both in the early and recent stages of the Neo-Latin idioms; that is, German words with Slavonic terminations abound,¹ and, particularly, with diminutive suffixes.

Under the last division of his material, the inner speech-form, a large number of important linguistic changes are cited to show how easily a similarity of ideas may cause the speech-mould to change, when these ideas are transferred from one language to another. Thus, the well-known French *j'ai dansé avec des rats* = German: *ich habe mit Figurantinnen getanzt*, but could be turned into *ich habe mit Ratten getanzt*, and is actually found so in the dramatic composition entitled *Die Fledermaus*. The French *rat* corresponds here to both of the German words *figurantin* and *ratte*. Again, the separable prepositions of the German are treated as inseparable; as, for example, *ich abgebe die Aufgabe* (oddam nalago) of the Slavonian pupil; or the inseparable occur as separable only; as, *er versteht miss*, where the writer would see a mutation of accent as the principle that underlies the change.

But while we thus have independent uses of the individual parts of compound verbs, where the philologist is able to study the crossing lines of analytic and synthetic tendency in language, the pronoun here presents some curious phases of extreme restriction in use that are striking when compared with the treatment of this grammar category in certain Romance dialects, especially those of the langue d'oïl. In the first place, for the German, we observe the frequent omission altogether of the pronoun; as, in the Czecho-German, *wohin wird gehen?* and in the Slavonian jargon, *thuma nur warten, wird schon kommen*, which grew up according to the analogy of the Slavonic idioms, where the subject-pronoun is generally omitted when no stress is laid on it.

It is, however, more particularly to the reflexive pronoun that our attention is called in this connection. In the early history of the Aryan languages the original reflexive, with one or two exceptions, was restricted, on the one hand,

¹ Cf. again our German dialect-products, *er staunisch*, *mitout*, etc.

to the third person, and at present, both for German and Romance territory, the use of the third person is extended so as to cover the first and second also. The author is disposed to agree with Brugmann in his opinion that the German *sich* in these circumstances represents almost exclusively the reflexive *uns*, and is equivalent, therefore, to M. H. G. *unsich*, but considers it impossible that the *s* so commonly found in the folk-speech (*soldat bin ichs gewesen*) should represent the first and second persons. In the Italian, however, he would place the *si* = *ci*, which we find in such expressions as *noi si alziamo*, *noi si fermiamo*, etc. In the Ladinian the reflexive third person has usurped the office of the other persons. This is specially noted, and the writer concludes, therefore, with Miklosich, that for both German and Romance there are cases where the reflexive third person stands for the first and second, and which cannot be accounted for by Slavonic influence.

In no department of grammar-forms, however, is the interchange of elements more frequent and extended than in the particles. Here, it is translation, substitution with meaning slightly different from the original, or the full transference of the thought into another sphere of ideas, that marks the passage of expression from the Slavonic to German and Neo-Latin mould, or vice versa.

The author ends his epoch-making essay with observations upon some pedagogical questions that have claimed the attention of educators, not only in Germany, but also in this country. He would urge the practical learning of a language, if possible, in infancy, and does not hold to the doctrine that the mother tongue is injured thereby, citing, in practical support of his view, the fluency with which the Cymric is used, though not cultivated in the public schools.

The whole treatise, as it lies before us, is one of the most important contributions to the science of dialectology that have appeared up to this time. The broad problems of language-making that are here discussed make it of prime interest to the student of comparative philology, as well as to the specialist in Teutonic and Romance languages.

A. M. ELLIOTT.

College Series of Greek Authors, edited under the supervision of John Williams White, Lewis R. Packard, and Thomas D. Seymour. Sophocles Antigone. Edited on the basis of Wolff's edition, by MARTIN L. D'OOGHE, Professor of Greek in the University of Michigan. Boston, Ginn, Heath & Co., 1884. Pp. iv, 192, paper.

Among the more notable of recent enterprises in classical philology in the United States are the College Series of Greek Authors, of which Professor D'Ooghe's Antigone is the first volume to appear, published in Boston, and Harper's Classical Series, under the editorial supervision of Prof. Drisler, published in New York. In the former series, approved German editions are announced as forming the basis of the American editions; for the latter series there is no such restriction. The object of the College Series (for which more than twenty American scholars are writing), as given in the editors' prospectus, is to furnish in rapid succession, at the rate of from three to six volumes each

year, editions of Greek authors, with notes which embody the best results of recent philological research. The plan of the editors, in part published in this prospectus, is elaborated with considerable detail. It is a peculiar feature of these volumes that the notes are printed on the same page with the text, while separate text-editions, without notes, for class-room use are also provided.

Professor D'Ooge's *Antigone* is based on Gustav Wolff's second edition, Leipzig, 1873 (of the Teubner series), and free use has been made of the work of Wolff's German reviser, Bellermand, and of other recent editors. The lyrical parts have been arranged after J. H. H. Schmidt, though his text has not been followed. There is a brief preface, followed by two introductions (Wolff's "Vorausliegende Sage," and "Rückblick," much abridged), and by the Greek text of the two *ὑποθέσεις* with English notes. The play itself is divided into nine scenes; and the usual Greek designations of the parts of the drama (*πρόλογος, παράδοξος κτέ.*) are retained and are printed within the text.

In his text the editor has followed Wolff closely, except in about ninety passages. As Wolff's critical principles have thus governed Professor D'Ooge, it will be well to cite them: "Bei Constituierung des Textes habe ich mich möglichst dem Laur. A angeschlossen . . . Wo diese Handschrift Falsches bietet, schliesse ich mich an den Par. A an. Er gehört meiner Ansicht nach einer anderen Familie an als Laur. A. Wenn beide Hss. nicht ausreichen und die Scholien oder alte Anführungen nicht ausreichen, nehme ich Vermutungen auf, oder, was dem gleich ist, Lesarten geringerer Hss." In his deviations from W., Professor D'Ooge has in most cases been more conservative in preferring the frequently difficult readings—or what W. called "Falsches"—of L. to the readings of inferior MSS, or to conjectures. The reasons for these changes are generally given in the critical appendix. The rejected readings of W. are placed at the foot of the text. As it is these changes that give D'O.'s text its individuality, some of them should be cited, not including the forty-five places where D'O.'s revision and Bellermand's are coincident, viz.: on vv. 108, 138, 151, 241, 269, 280, 326, 342, 359, 366, 439, 454 to 605, 670 to 834 except 718, 905 to 965, 970, 1080 to 1115, 1129, 1265, 1341. At 24, D'Ooge has *χρησθείς*—Wolff, *χρηστοίς*. 71, *ὅποια*—*ὅποια*. 211, *Κρέων*—*κυρεῖν*. 213, *γ' ἐνεστί σοι*—*μέτεστί σοι*. 223, *οὐχ ὅπως τάχους*—*οὐχ, ὅπως σπονδῆς*. 231, *σπονδῆ—σχολῇ*. 318, *τί δαί;* *ῥυθμίζεις*—*τί δαὶ ῥυθμίζεις*. 351 l., *ὑπάξεται*—*ἔσας δ' αἶ*. 368 l., *παρεῖρων*—*πληρῶν*. 452, *τοιούσδ'*—*οἱ τοῖσδ'*. 612 l. ff., *ἐπαρκέσει νόμος ὁδ' οὐδὲν ἔρπει θνατῶν βιότῳ πλημμελὲς*—*ἐπαρκέσαι νόμον. ὁ δ' οὐδὲν ἔρπει θνατῶν βίοςτος πάμπολις*. 659, *γ' ἐγγενῇ*—*συγγενῇ*. 718, *θυμοῦ*—*μῦθῳ*. 1303, *λάχος*—*λέχος*.

From an examination of his readings it will be seen that Professor D'Ooge has exercised independent judgment in constituting his text. Though original grounds in defence of the text are sometimes given, we have failed to discover more than one conjectural emendation original with Professor D'Ooge. V. 572 is, with the MSS, given to Ismene. In defence of this, σφ', referring to *Antigone*, is suggested for the MSS σ', but this reading is not admitted into the text. The editor's aim has been to adapt the commentary "to the needs of students beginning their study of Greek tragedy with this play." The notes are brief and to the point: there are many grammatical references to the grammars of Goodwin and of Hadley-Allen: once or twice Krüger's Sprach-

lehre and Kühner's Ausführh. Gram. are referred to. Translations into English are frequently given as the best form of commentary. These translations are generally quite literal, and are not put into rhythmical prose, which when written with poetical feeling often reveals something of the spirit, as well as gives the crude meaning, of the original. There are abundant illustrations both of the language and of the sentiment, from Greek, Roman, and English writers. In the illustrations from English poets, mostly dramatic, this edition is richer than any other known to us. The names of Herrick, Granville (on 1158, where Tennyson's "Turn, fortune, turn thy wheel," is apposite), Lee, Ford, Webster, Shirley, Coleridge, Congreve, Davenant, Rogers, Mason, Gray (on 528, Agrippina, II 193, where "clear" should be read for "fair"), Thomson, Chaucer, Milton (five times), and Shakespeare (seventeen times) are met with. In Tit. Andr. i 2, 301 on 390, "tricks," which is not Shakespearean in the sense "deceive," is wrongly given for "mocks." "Coach-fellow in affliction" (on 541, as illustrating ξύμπλουν) is given as Shakespeare's. Where is this found? "Coachfellow" occurs in Merry Wives of W., ii, 2, 7, but there seems to mean 'mate in drawing the coach' (A. Schmidt), and thus is not quite in point with ξύμπλουν. Was Professor D'Ooge thinking of "Heart's discontent and sour affliction Be playfellows to keep you company" (K. Henry VI, Part II, iii, 2, 301)? The poet is interpreted largely by himself by parallel citations from other plays and from other dramatists, and there are many apt extracts from the Scholia. In all these citations the gist of the matter is uniformly given, and not a mere reference. While the editor has constantly aimed to make the poet's meaning clear, the peculiarities of poetic speech and several other features of the poet's literary art do not receive the attention that would have been demanded in a book designed for advanced students. And yet even beginners in Greek tragedy should be reminded of the normal Attic prose equivalents, not only in the forms used, but also in syntax and diction, in order duly to appreciate a work of poetic art. Not all such matters can safely be relegated to the oral commentary.

In the exegetical notes the following matters call for comment and criticism; in making our comments we keep in mind the editor's avowed object—to adapt the book to beginners.

10. Read *evils are proceeding* (cf. 288, Frag. 90, 2). Between 276 and 565 insert 'esp. 438.' The reasons for Soph.'s use of plu. 'for sing.' are nowhere adequately given. The explanation suggested in note on 10 does not cover all cases. 25. In the note on νεκροῖς the matter is stated too positively. Cf. Tarbell, Trans. Am. Phil. Assoc. 1884, p. 36 ff. 36. To support the difficult word δημόλευστον, Eur. Or. 442, Aesch. Sept. 199, might well have been cited. 39. Note on δ' wanted; also on ἐγώ. 41. 'the more usual -η' requires defence. 43. 'Antigone holds up her right hand,' is not a certain interpretation in explanation of εἶν τῇδε χερί. 45. γοῖν is to be taken with τὸν ἐμὸν and not with θάψω understood. 50. νῶν not ethical dat., cf. Hdt. VI 9, οὐδέ σφι . . . τὰ ἴδια ἐμπεπρήσεται. 74-5. Cic. ad Att. XII 18, 'Longum illud tempus cum non ero magis me movet quam hoc exiguum,' might well have been cited. 99. 'Antigone retires behind the left periaktes'? 107. φῶτα; note wanted. Cf. ὁ Λάκων, Plat. Phaedr. 260e. 221. Note on the article in ὁ μισθός. 260. 'The impf. for the sake of vividness, placing the strife in the present.' But the

impf. with *ἄν* may have reference to the past. Conversely we have the aor. with *ἄν* referring to present, O. T. 403, Eur. Alc. 738. 274. *ἐνίκα*, came to prevail. 308. Campbell's 'confusion' is objectionable. There is a partial fusion or an imperfect blending, but no confusion. 322. *γε* is not *yes*; join with *ἀργύρῳ*. 354. *φθέγμα*, speech; better, utterance. Soph. probably had no theory in mind as to the origin of language, as seems to be inferred from D'O.'s extract from Schneidewin. 389. Cf. "sober second thoughts." Eur. Hipp. 435, *κὰν βροτοῖς | αἱ δευτεραί πως φροντίδες σοφώτεραι*. Dryden, Spanish Friar, ii 2, "Second thoughts, they say, are best." 442. *μὴ* must be joined with *δεδρακέναι*. Cf. 443. 454 ff. Professor Goodwin's explanation (1876), here cited, was anticipated by Kruse in 1875 (Prog. Gymn. Greifswald), if not by others. 458. With Antigone's resolution, to be true to her conscience in the face of peril, might well have been compared the language of Neoptolemus in Phil. 902-3. 517. Note on *ᾠλετο* wanted. 605. 'The potential optative with *ἄν* omitted' is an unscientific way of putting it. 661. Parallel passages should have been given in illustration. 718. '*μετάστασις* alone is too vague,' therefore *θυμοῦ* is limiting genitive,—a poor reason for a good interpretation. Apart from the uncertainty of the reading *θυμοῦ*—most MSS give *θυμῷ*, Porson *θυμόν*, W. *μήθω*, etc., which must be joined in some way with *εἵκε*—the word may limit *εἵκε* and at the same time float before the mind with *μετάστασις*, but from thy wrath draw back, and grant a change therein. 907. The reasoning in this note is based on what seems to be a wrong conception of *βία πολιτῶν*. As in 79, *βία πολιτῶν* evidently here means in defiance of the will of the citizens, i. e. 'the state.' The poet unconsciously uses a phrase that an Athenian of his own time would use (cf. *ἀρχαιογόνων*, 980, where D'O.'s explanation is not complete, *πάλαι*, O. T. 1). Cf. *ἐγὼ σφε θάψω κὰν ἀπεννέπη πόλις*, Eur. Phoen. 1657. 908. For surely read *pray*. 1035. *τῶν ὑπαὶ γένους*. Sophocles again puts words into the mouth of an actor to represent the sentiments of many in his own time. Cf. Eur. El. 399 f., Iph. Aul. 956-8, Plat. Laws, X 908d, etc. On the whole subject, see L. Schmidt, *Ethik der Griechen*, II, p. 59 ff. 1115 fifth line; cases should have been given. 1172. *βασιλέων* probably refers to the absent Creon and Eurydice; *τεθνῶσι* in the mouth of the messenger is simply 'death.' 1233. 'But the next moment he is stung with a feeling of self-reproach (*αὐτῷ χολωθείς*). His anger was perhaps due to his failure to kill his father. It would be more modern, more 'realistic' (see on 523), to give Haemon twinges of remorse, but the Greek poet gives us plastic figures of fixed purpose and passion. 1241. *τέλη*; if the 'marriage rite was sometimes called *τέλος*,' *τέλη* can hardly be 'the consummation of the nuptials.'

In the critical appendix, after a list of the principal MSS and editions referred to, is given what Nauck calls *potior lectionis varietas*, or brief accounts of the most important variants in the chief MSS, and of conjectural emendations. In these critical notes many of the readings are discussed in an instructive manner, the editor's aim being to furnish "sufficient material for an intelligent appreciation of the most important problems in the textual criticism of the play." Here the editor cannot be writing for beginners in Greek tragedy. A critical commentary for them would be like quaternions for babes. In a critical commentary, it should be the editor's aim to give to the proficient student the best results, thoroughly sifted, of recent philological studies in the

text of his author. If the limits of space forbid a full discussion of many points, there should be given throughout due indications to the literature of the subject.

Professor D'Ooge has recognized these facts, but not at all times with enough clearness. Thus the literature on the MSS is not given; the relation of Laur. A to Par. A is dismissed with the remark that "L is believed by many to be the archetype of all the other codices of Sophocles extant," and that "A is regarded by some as the chief of a different family of MSS from that of which L is the archetype." In these matters authorities are weighed, not counted. Professor D'Ooge is not always consistent in indicating where the emendations cited were originally given. In furnishing the data for the probable reading in difficult places, the *concininitas Sophoclea*, an exceedingly instructive consideration for beginners in text criticism, is not sufficiently appealed to.

On v. 4[attention] should have been called to the dittography by which the ἀτης ἀτερ of the MSS is explained by Dindorf as arising from the ἀτήσιμον of the text. 24. Under Margoliouth, whom, in view of his peculiar attitude toward the text, it seems strange to cite without a word of caution, after χθονός insert 'proposed by H. Schütz.' 124. Schenkel, in 1874, had proposed ἀμφὶ φῶτ' ἐτάθη here given to Schmidt. 351. G[erhard] H[einrich] Miller should read "Müller." He now calls himself Heinrich Müller. 514. Escher's ἐκείνον, suggested on syntactical grounds from the *concininitas Sophoclea*, would have been interesting, as also on 575, Wieseler's ἐπι (=ἐπεστι), where L. gives ἐμοί. 675. C. F. Müller's ῥοπάς is more plausible than Keck's τάξεις cited, and on 680 his κοῖκ ἐν γυναικῶν is suggestive. Cf., for similar separation of ἐν from its word, 904. 747. οὐ τὰν (=οὔτοι ἄν) here belongs to Elmsley, and not to Porson. Porson had suggested on Eur. Med. 867 (Dind.), οὐ τὰν (which he wrote οὐτ' ἄν, i. e. οὔτοι ἄν, with *crasis*) for the MSS οὐκ ἄν. Elmsley, in his note on Eur. Med. 867, adopts the suggestion, and makes a similar conjecture for Soph. Ant. 747; he would also read οὐτ' ἄν (i. e. οὐ τὰν) in Aj. 1339 for οὐκ ἄν of LL², οὐκ οὖν of A. Vat. 1098. Rauchenstein's τὰ νῦν for the impossible λακεῖν L is instructive.

There is no index. This is unfortunate, since an index, while perhaps not quite the "soul of a book," as Scaliger called it, if properly constructed adds value to a book by making its contents immediately available. A full classified index to the text and notes, like that of Professor Gildersleeve's Pindar, or of Mr. Verrall's smaller Euripides' Medea, might have been made not only a sort of epitome of Sophoclean grammar and of dramatic usage, and a guide to the illustrative literature, but also a clue to the principal contents of the poem.

The printer has done his work with excellent taste. No pages of a Greek book could be more attractive to the eye than are many pages of this book. The proof-reading has been accurate in the main, and none of the slips are misleading. The following corrections should be made: 24N. δίκη. 175N. ἀμήχανον. 234N., 393N. Thuc. 263N. οὐδ' ἄν . . . ἄλλ'. 342 W. κονφονέων. 500N. μηδ'. 568. παντοῦ. 722N. εἰ δ' οὖν. 731N. Kvičala. 898N. εισίδω. 910N. τοῦδ'. 944N. Pausan. 968 W. Θρηκῶν. 1036. πάλαι. 1068N. ἀνθ' ὧν. 1083. ἀνόσιον. 1108. ἄν. 1225N. Propert. 1302N. Anth. Pal. P. 170. Meineke's Beiträge zur philologischen Kritik. Bonitz's B. zur. Kvičala's B. zur. In the critical notes: on 4. οὐτ'. 447 L. ἡδεῖς τὰ (not ἡδεῖς στα)[?]. 467. οὐτ'. 1111. τῇδ'. 1310. αἰαί. 1345 (not 1346).

The matters that we have selected for unfavorable comment are of minor importance. The book remains one of the most satisfactory editions yet produced of a Greek play for schools and colleges, with English notes. It is uniformly marked by a sense of proportion and of perspective, qualities too often lacking in books of this class, as in oral instruction. The appearance of such books promises well for the future of classical scholarship as cultivated at American institutions of learning.

J. H. WRIGHT.

The Common Tradition of the Synoptic Gospels, by EDWIN A. ABBOTT, D. D., and W. G. RUSHBROOKE, M. L. London, Macmillan & Co., 1884.

We have been meaning for some time to review this little book, not so much on account of the completeness of the theory which it unfolds, for it is by its own admission only fragmentary and preliminary to a much larger work, as because it affords an opportunity of discussing one or two critical questions connected with the new and careful investigation which is being made to revive the theory of an ancestral gospel (= Proto-Mark), from which the three synoptics made up their record.

Obviously there can be few questions of greater theological importance than those connected with the mutual relations of the Gospels, and certainly none of greater critical difficulty and uncertainty; but the American Journal of Philology is not the place to discuss great and vital problems in theology. Hence we shall confine ourselves to a brief sketch of the book and a few remarks. It contains an attempt to popularize the method of extraction of the common early Synoptic Tradition which Dr. Abbott explained in his article in the Encyclopedia Britannica, and which led to the beautiful volumes (known as *Synopticon*, which should be interpreted to mean Printer's Martyrdom), in which Mr. Rushbrooke exhibited to the eye, by varieties of colored ink and spacing of type, the common or solitary portions of the Gospels arranged in a quasi-harmonistic form.

We are first told that the Proto-Mark theory, if established, will be of great importance because, when we show that three separate writers have worked the primitive documents up in somewhat different manner, without mutual communication, we have a triple testimony of the truth of the matter contained, on the principle of Philo's dictum that "a sacred matter is tested by three witnesses" coupled with the Johannine statement that "there are three that bear record." We venture to say that no one will see in this argument anything more than an obscure reference to the doctrine of the Trinity; for according to the assumption, the three witnesses are one. The Proto-Mark theory may be correct enough, but this is hardly the way to commend the evidence of it to people who believed they had three witnesses on the point before Proto-Mark was started.

Attention is then drawn to the fact that in many parts of the Synoptics Mark contains all that is common to Matthew and Luke, from which fact the modern theory takes its departure. It is also shown that in many passages there is reason to believe that Matthew and Luke modified, or made more intelligible, or improved the language of Mark. All this is perfectly plausible and reasonable, and would agree almost as well with the theory of an Aramaic Proto-Mark as with a Greek original.

* In order to arrange an English text of Synopticon in which these coincidences and divergences can be noted, it becomes necessary to have a standard text, and this is naturally enough taken to be the Revisers'. Ten pages are, therefore, employed in defence of the Revisers' Greek Text, the argument following closely upon the Introduction of Dr. Hort. We think that the authors have, to a certain extent, overrated the excellency of their text and certainly of its translation; nor are they always fortunate in the passages which they bring forward by way of illustration of the processes of textual corruption. Take, for example, the question of assimilation in Synoptic texts; according to the earlier theories it was comparatively easy to note that a certain place in Mark had assimilated a certain passage in Matthew; but when we admit that Matthew is itself worked up from Proto-Mark, the ground for predicating assimilation often disappears, and it may just as well be true that a passage has been dropped from the text of Mark in certain copies. And especially will this argument apply in those cases where a copy of one Gospel, as Mark, is charged with assimilating a passage from either of the two other Synoptics. (See the critical apparatus of Tregelles, *passim*, for such assumed double or alternative assimilations.) However, letting the question of the influence of the Proto-Mark theory over the rate of assimilation in the Synoptics stand on one side, we turn to the first passage in which assimilation on the part of texts of Mark is noted. "To take the first instance that comes to hand. In the description of Jesus walking on the sea, in Mark VI 47, we read merely that "the ship was in the midst of the sea," but Matthew, XIV 24, tells us that "the ship was many furlongs distant from the land, *being tossed* by the waves." Hence a MS. adds in *Mark also* the words 'being tossed.'" We must confess our ignorance, but we do not know what MS this is. We cannot find any trace of such a reading in the ordinary critical apparatuses. And even if it exist in some unrecorded cursive-variant, there is no need to assume any assimilation to the text of Matthew, for the very next verse in Mark, VI 48, has the word in question in a slightly different form, *καὶ ἰδὼν αὐτοὺς βασανιζομένους ἐν τῷ ἐλαίνειν*. It is, therefore, far more natural to explain such a textual error by a simple slip of the eye of the scribe in his own copy. Surely a better instance than this could be found of one of the most important and difficult textual phenomena.

Examples are given of the manner in which the assumed elliptical sentences of the Proto-Mark are variously interpreted by the different Synoptics; and of instances of variants caused by misunderstanding of the primitive text. One of the most seductive of these is the following, in which the unaccented HMMN of Mark is found interpreted variously as "HMMN or "HMMN by Matthew and Luke, thus:

Mark XIV 49: "I was daily with you in the temple teaching."

Matt. XXVI 55: "I sat daily (*ἐκαθεζόμην*) in the temple teaching."

Luke XXII 53: "When I was daily with you (*ὄντος μου*) in the temple."¹

¹ Unfortunately for this brilliant combination, it is only a proof how a good scholar in his eagerness to make a point, may be duped into a forgetfulness of some elementary matters. "HMMN is likely enough. See on this form Rutherford, *New Phrynichus*, p. 240. "HMMN is strictly poetical and utterly unlikely in this sphere of the language; Mark would have used *ἐκαθήμην* as he uses *ἐκάθητο* (X 46)—B. L. G.

There is much to be said against this ingenious argument; for when the writer states that the Greek for 'was' in Mark is here ΗΜΗΝ, a non-classical form not used elsewhere by this Evangelist, we might be led to infer (α) that Mark uses elsewhere some other form; but he does not; (β) that Matthew was disposed to misunderstand the auxiliary form from the habit of using another form, which is also not the case, for Matthew uses ΗΜΗΝ regularly; and in fact there is no other form employed by the New Testament writers for the 1st person singular of the imperfect auxiliary; (γ) it follows, therefore, that there was no special reason to account Luke's reading as a deliberate modification of Proto-Mark; since he uses the very word in question in six places in the Acts.

The other examples which are given labor under greater difficulty. For instance, in the language describing the Transfiguration, we have in Mark and in Luke the expression ΠΟΙΗΣΩΜΕΝ ΤΡΕΙΣ ΣΚΗΝΑΣ, but in Matthew ΠΟΙΗΣΩ ΩΔΕ ΚΤΕ, which Abbott explains as follows: the original tradition being that preserved by Mark and Luke, the words appear in Matthew "as if it were in two words, ΠΟΙΗΣΩ ΜΕΝ; then the word ΜΕΝ appearing to make no sense, was changed into its correlative ΔΕ, and ΠΟΙΗΣΩ ΔΕ was easily changed (and the more easily because there is ΩΔΕ in the preceding line) into ΠΟΙΗΣΩ ΩΔΕ, i. e. I will make here. The intolerable egotism of this reading, 'I will make,' forced the editor of this Gospel to insert at least the qualification, 'if thou wilt,' and hence the present erroneous version of Matthew." According to this explanation, there are four separate stages of error *before the text of Matthew is reached*, each of which may be reckoned as requiring one transcription. First the reading of ΠΟΙΗΣΩ ΜΕΝ in two words (when we know, by the bye, that there is no evidence of any early texts that are divided, and, therefore, the error must have been a mental one and capable of immediate correction); then the two corrections and addition. Is this a likely conjecture? And be it remembered that there is no consensus of editors on the reading in Matthew: (Tregelles reads ΠΟΙΗΣΩΜΕΝ ΩΔΕ).

A far simpler suggestion would be that the original text of Matthew read ΠΟΙΗΣΩΜΕΝ with Mark and Luke, and that a single early copy read three letters from a previous line, and thus produced the text as given in the three Greek uncials that attest it. At all events, we have as much right to make a single correction at the back of three Greek MSS as Dr. Abbott has to make four successive ones at the back of all texts properly called the Gospel of Matthew.

From what we have said, my friends of the Synopticon will see that there is nothing which I enjoy so much (after making conjectural restorations or explanations myself), as finding fault with conjectures made by fellow-students. They will not infer that we join in the foolish objection to conjectural emendations in N. T. texts. On the contrary we go much further than Dr. Abbott in this matter, and do not admit that the day of conjectures is passed in any book of the New Testament. Only the man that would deal with them must be armed with iron and brass, and plenty of paleographic reasons which do not admit of alternatives. Meanwhile we are on our watch-tower for the promised and more extended volume.

J. RENDEL HARRIS.

The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles. By CANON SPENCE, Vicar of S. Pancras. London, Nisbet & Co., 1885.

La Doctrine des Douze Apôtres, par G. BONET-MAURY, Professeur à la Faculté de Théologie Protestante de Paris. Paris, Librairie Fischbacher, 1884.

ΔΙΔΑΧΗ ΤΩΝ ΔΩΔΕΚΑ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΩΝ, by ROSWELL D. HITCHCOCK and FRANCIS BROWN, Professors in Union Theological Seminary, New York. New York, Scribner's Sons, 1885.

These three works, from the rapidly multiplying literature on the Bryennios MS, reached us within the course of a single week; and represent three different countries in a way that is very suggestive of the influence of dividing straits and seas upon the outward form and intellectual development of the Christian faith. The first of the three is the most religious, the second the most artistic, and the third the most complete. All three view the recovered MS with profound complacency, as mirroring with sufficient exactness their own ecclesiastical leanings. Such harmony is a sufficient testimony to the genuineness of the Teaching considered as a possible early Christian document. None of them is in the least disturbed by the existence of hitherto almost unrecognized Christian orders, a communistic society, prophetic enthusiasms, a common religious meal, or millenarian doctrine.

1. Canon Spence arranges his book in the following order: An English translation with notes; followed by nine excursuses on questions connected with the text; a sermon preached by the author in S. Paul's Cathedral, and the Greek text of the Teaching.

The translation is sometimes incorrect, as when on p. 11 we have, "for to all the Father wishes to give (*δίδωσθαι*) of his own gracious gifts"; sometimes unintelligible, as p. 13, "Let thine alms drop like sweat into thy hands." The notes are not of a very critical character: *e. g.* from several passages it is inferred that the writer was acquainted with the Epistle to the Romans. p. 14: The writer of the Teaching probably had the Epistle to the Romans (XIII 9) before him. p. 22: Apparently a memory of S. Paul . . . It has been already remarked that it is highly probable that the writer of the treatise was well acquainted with S. Paul's Epistle to the Romans. p. 23: "The Spirit hath made ready." See Epistle to the Romans, VIII 29, 30. All these references are very uncertain.

In the same way evidence is brought forward to show Johannine influence: *e. g.* p. 46, on the words *Μνήσθητι, κύριε, τῆς ἐκκλησίας σου τοῦ ῥύσασθαι αὐτήν ἀπὸ παντὸς πονηροῦ*, we are told that there is an apparent reference here to S. John's teaching (XVII 15), 'I pray not that thou shouldst take them out of the world, but that thou shouldst keep them from the evil.' Now, if Canon Spence had regarded the passage as a reference to the Lord's prayer, there might have been some point to the note, for we should have had an early and semi-official interpretation of the words which occur just before in the Teaching, *ῥῶσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ*. The other reference seems to us utterly impossible, in spite of the fact that it is endorsed to a certain extent by M. Bonet-Maury, to whom we shall presently devote a little space.

There are a good many typographical errors in the Greek: p. 38, l. 12, read

οὐρανῷ, p. 41, last line, παῖδα and again on p. 42; p. 63, κατὰ κυριακὴν ζῶντες, p. 64, l. 7, μέχρις ἐγχωρῇ, and l. 15 αὐτῷ, p. 111 (bis), ἐντολή, p. 180, l. 6, ἀνλισθῇ, p. 181, l. 7, ἀξιός ἐστι.

No attempt is made to correct the text, so that such inconsistencies as ἐταίρον in c. 14 and ἐτέρων in c. 15 remain.

The principal point to be noticed in the excursuses is that a suggestion is made which carries the theory of a Judeo-Christian origin of the Teaching further than it has yet been pushed, namely, that it emanated from the community at Pella, under the guidance of Symeon the son of Cleopas, in the latter part of the first century; that is, before the development of the peculiar characteristics of the Nazarene heresy. The writer might strengthen his position much by a comparison of the features in common between the Essene communities and the churches of the Teaching. For instance, a single emendation borrowed from Josephus' account of the Essenes in Bell. Iud. II, VIII 5, would clear up a perplexing passage. When Josephus describes the Essenes as giving thanks before and after meat, he intimates that it is unlawful to partake of the meal before the grace. Let us, then, insert the words πρὸ τῆς εὐχῆς in c. 11, and read καὶ πᾶς προφήτης ὀρίζων τράπεζαν ἐν πνεύματι οὐ φάγεται ἀπ' αὐτῆς πρὸ τῆς εὐχῆς. The omission would then be explained as a simple homoioteleuton, and the prophet would not go supperless to bed; and the custom of giving thanks would be one of the 'ways of the Lord,' by which the true prophet is to be known.

We ought to say in conclusion that the whole of the book is animated by a sober and genuinely Christian spirit, which will make it practically useful to a large number of readers. It is, strange to say, the first English treatise on the Teaching outside of the magazines and the newspaper.

2. M. Bonet-Maury does not provide us with any Greek text or notes, but with a translation followed by a critical study which, if short, is pointed and suggestive. His conclusions are as follows: the teaching has borrowed both from Barnabas and Hermas, being mainly based upon the doctrine of two ways (light and dark), given in the Epistle of Barnabas. The book passed through at least two revisions before it came into the form in which we find it; its first form was a simple ethical manual, written A. D. 130-40, by an Alexandrian Judeo-Christian; next it was increased, some 20 years later, perhaps in the same place or by the same author, by the addition of directions for alms, baptisms, and love-feasts, and for the recognition of spiritual gifts and the election of church officers. Finally, the book received a new form, by falling into the hands of a Montanistic church in Asia Minor, at the beginning of the third century. We disagree with the writer at almost every statement, as to time, place, authorship, and the unity of the book.

Occasionally statements and references are well made; the reference to the world-deceiver appearing as the Son of God [υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, not as elsewhere, παῖς τοῦ θεοῦ] is important in its bearing on the Christology of the Teaching. On p. 21 allusion is made to the prayer 'que la grâce, c'est-à-dire le Christ paraîsse et que ce monde passe'; the thought suggests itself to us, may not the word χάρις be an actual misreading of the abbreviated χρε?

In identifying the Montanist orders with those found in the Teaching, a

reference is made, p. 24, to a letter of Jerome to Marcella, in which the church leaders among the Montanists are spoken of as Patriarchae, Cenones et Episcopi. And it is suggested that the reference is here to the Apostles, prophets and bishops, the prophets deriving their name from the communion, *κοινωνία*, over which we find from the *Διδαχή* that they presided (*ὀρίζων τράπεζαν*), and their participation in the good things of others, so that *κοινωνοί* = Cenones. This suggestion is a happy one, and Hilgenfeld adopts it in the Montanist literature *passim*. But, in fact, it is actually made in the edict of Justinian against the Montanists, for we find (Cod. I, Tit. 5, 21), *ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀνοσίοις Μοντανισταῖς θεσπίζομεν ὥστε μηδένα συγχωρεῖσθαι τῶν καλουμένων αὐτῶν πατριαρχῶν καὶ κοινωνῶν ἢ ἐπισκόπων κτέ.*

It is quite likely then, that the writer has given the correct explanation of the term employed by Eusebius, Epiphanius and Jerome. If so, it could hardly have been made with any confidence before the recovery of the text of the Teaching.

3. We come now to what must be regarded as the standard American edition of the Teaching, in which Professors Hitchcock and Brown have brought together a summary of all that has been rightly and wrongly said or written with regard to the Bryennios MS.

On p. xi of the introduction, we are corrected for having given the number of the MS as 478, in the *Journal of Christian Philosophy*. We have no copy of this at hand, but the reprint of the article gives 458. Whether this is taken directly from the original article or not, there are two wrong numbers abroad, and one at least is ours.

On p. xxi is reprinted the very interesting later fragment of the Teaching which Gebhardt unearthed from the *Thesaurus Anecdotorum* of Pez: and on p. lxix we have a translation of the reconstruction of the text of the Teaching made by Krawutzky before the publication of Bryennios' edition. Both of these are a welcome and valuable addition, in a convenient form, to the literature of the subject.

On p. lxxvii, we are told that there are no quotations from the book of Acts, the supposed reference to Acts IV 32 being only external. It should be remarked that in c. 9 there are two expressions whose collocation is so striking that it is almost certain to be a reminiscence of Acts IV, where they are also found together, viz. thy servant David and thy servant Jesus. *And this is the very same chapter in which the previous quotation was suspected.*

On p. ci, the conclusion is arrived at that the weight of argument is in favor of assigning the Teaching to an Egyptian origin; and a foot-note remarks, 'This *vs.* Harris.' We are quite ready to fight it out on this line as long as may be necessary. For, by the admission of the writers, in order to make an Egyptian origin possible a lively export trade has to be carried on between Antioch and Egypt; amongst the articles to be exported are a peculiar form of the Lord's prayer, hills upon which bread might be scattered, or at least the liturgical elements of the Thank-meal in which the hills are referred to, the apostles, prophets, and teachers whom we know from Scripture to have been the life of the church at Antioch, but to whom we can point no parallel in Egyptian church history; vineyards and olive trees and wine-presses must be

added, in order that the first fruits of jars of wine and oil may be assigned to the Egyptian prophets. The words *Maran-atha* and *Hosanna* must be popularized in the early Egyptian church assemblies, which are perfectly intelligible in Syrian churches, but the latter of them was not understood even by Clement of Alexandria with all his scholarship. All this in order to sustain a conjecture that Barnabas and the Apostolic Canons come from Alexandria, and because Clement of Alexandria quotes the Teaching! We might just as well say that the Teaching was written in Lyons or Rome because traces of it are found in Irenaeus and Hermas, or that the Shepherd itself is an Egyptian book because it is quoted, at a smaller lapse of time from its production than the Teaching, by Clement of Alexandria. And what can be more uncertain than the argument that the Teaching (which speaks of travelling prophets) must be Egyptian because Pantaenus was a travelling teacher?

But we must stop. With all our disagreement with the New York Professors we congratulate them on producing one of the best books yet written on the Teaching. At the same time we are glad that Bryennios is no longer, as in their first edition, a bishop of Ancient Mesopotamia, nor the Blessed Virgin engaged in a correspondence with Ignatius of Antioch.

J. RENDEL HARRIS.

Novum Testamentum Graece ad antiquissimos testes denuo recensuit apparatus criticum apposuit Constantinus Tischendorf. Prolegomena scripsit C. R. GREGORY, additis curis †EZRAE ABBOT. Pars Prior. Lipsiae, 1884.

This book, which forms the first part of the prolegomena to Tischendorf's eighth edition, carries the unfinished work of that scholar as far as the close of the description of the Uncial MSS of the New Testament. As regards Biblical learning, it is the highest point ever reached by American scholarship, and of its accuracy we can say that, considering how difficult it is to quote or collate MSS correctly, especially when as in N. T. criticism a statement is repeated by one writer after another without proper verification, it is one of the most exact books ever printed. This does not astonish any one who has seen Dr. Gregory at work, or who had ever the privilege of knowing his coadjutor,

" . . . whose chair desires him here in vain,
However they may crown him elsewhere."

Dr. Abbot's special gift was an *ἀκριβεια*, which covered the whole ground from the reading of proof-sheets up to the highest problems which his science afforded. He was so anxious to be right in all he said, and so successful in accomplishing his desire, that it is not altogether to be wondered at that superficial observers have regarded the position which he took in N. T. criticism as somewhat conservative. Nor was his care in this matter confined to his own work. A burden of unexpressed gratitude is on our own minds as we reflect upon the many times in which we have received from him the advice of a master in textual criticism as to some point where our work was either incorrect or liable to misunderstanding; and there are many American students who can answer to a similar experience.

We have noted a few points in reading this first part of the Prolegomena, which may be useful to our friend, Dr. Gregory, in the next edition. If, in any

case we have assumed an erratum wrongly, he will remember that we are at present too far away from the great European libraries to verify all the points that may seem to us to be doubtful.

Pp. 137-8. Some notes will be found in Kopp, Bilder und Schriften, p. 171, where the order of the Gospels is given as Mc., Mt., Lu., Jo., on the authority of Victorinus (in Apoc), and the order Jo., Mt., Mc., Lu., on the authority of Ambrose.

Pp. 155-6. There are some errors in the description of the Euthalian chapters in Acts and the relation between the capitulations of \aleph and B. These will be best explained by reprinting a portion of a letter from Dr. Abbot, dated Oct. 22d, 1883. "I am much obliged to you for pointing out two errors in my list of the chapters which disagree in Euthalius and B. How the first, the substitution of 6 for 5 occurred, I do not know; I find 5 noted in my original memoranda correctly; whether it was changed to 6 in the MS sent to Germany, or by Dr. Gregory in his translation of it, or whether it is a typographical error, I do not know. It is as likely to have been my mistake as any one's. For the insertion of 27 I have some excuse: the edition of the Vatican N. T. published by Vercellone, after Mai (Rome, 1869), and Tischendorf's Novum Testamentum Vaticanum (Lips. 1867), agree in placing Ch. KZ in B at Acts XXI 14 instead of 15 as in Euthalius. These were the editions I used, unsuspectingly, in investigating the matter; but the Roman edition of 1868 shows that they are both wrong, and I am very glad to have the error pointed out."

It should, perhaps, be noted, with regard to the capitulation of Acts which \aleph and B have in common, that the Vatican MS missed one chapter in the process of subdivision, and that the scribe of \aleph apparently cut his subdivision short with the folio in which he found himself out of harmony with B. I had the pleasure of sending Dr. Abbot a full scheme of these chapters, including those of the Cod. Amiatinus; the results (as far as they are worth anything) are summarized in the Johns Hopkins University Circulars (No. 29, March, 1884).

P. 203. In placing and dating the Greek Psalter, which contains the earliest printed Greek fragments of N. T., there seems to be an error in the words 'Venetiis anno 1486.' Is there not a Greek-Latin Psalter published at Milan in 1481 which contains the Canticles of Luke I? (I was offered a copy last summer.) The mistake seems to have arisen in Davidson's Biblical Criticism, II, p. 106, followed by Tregelles, Printed Text, p. 2 note, where he says, "The first part of the Greek Testament which was printed consisted of the thanksgiving hymns of Mary and Zacharias (Luke I 42-56, 68-80) appended to a Greek Psalter published in 1486."

On p. 366 note, read *Eberhardus* for *Eduardus*.

In describing the uncial MSS it is impossible to decide for other people what should be inserted; but one can hardly avoid a suggestion that it would be well always to give as full references as possible to the places where reproductions of any portions of a text may be found. Thus the number of the plate representing a MS in the Paleographical Society's work should be given. Montfaucon, for example, gives two specimens of Cod. A, one, apparently, from the Psalter, as given by Walton, and another from a specimen sent him by Grabe (Pal. Gr. p. 213, 513, 514). There is also one of the same

MS in Astle, p. 66, consisting of a few lines from John, c. 1. These references are the more valuable, as Dr. Gregory gives no facsimiles at all, and the only approach to them consists in the use of Tischendorf's uncial type (p. 343, 344) for four of the leading uncials, the effect of which is to leave on the mind a dull impression that all early MSS must have been remarkably alike. And further, the importance of such references or reproductions is not diminished by the fact that text-books in common use, like Scrivener's Introduction, give a very poor idea of the MSS which they honor by a line or two of indifferent imitation. There are many facsimiles accessible to persons who cannot afford to purchase the plates of the Paleographical Society. For instance, at my elbow is Wrangham's reprint of Walton's Prolegomena; it contains specimens of A, B, D, N, Z, E^{act} etc. A facsimile may also be found of Cod. C in Montfaucon, and of Cod. D in Astle, and many similar references might be given.

On p. 358. In describing Cod. B, we are told that the MS. is written "ternis columnis et lineis 42 in singulis paginis." And it is evident from what follows that the description is of the whole MS and not merely of the New Testament part of it; neither of these statements is universally true; the latter one should be mended by the remark that in the whole of the Pentateuch, *nisi fallor*, and in 1 Reg. to XIX 11 there are 44 lines to a column, and in 2 Paralip. X 66-XXVI 13 there are 40 lines to a column. Similar corrections will be found necessary in the descriptions of other codices; the fact is that these are too much condensed to enable one to rely upon them without occasional reference to other books.

We might write much more as to the details of the various uncials described; but when we had finished, it would be sufficiently clear that we had really diverged into other matters than those contained in the prolegomena because the faults of the book were too few to furnish the basis for a substantial criticism, and that we were not really reviewing, but writing portions of a new book of our own. Dr. Gregory's work is in every way sure to win the highest praise.

J. RENDEL HARRIS.

Analecta Isocratea. Composuit BRUNO KEIL. Praga, F. Tempsky; Lipsiae, G. Freytag. MDCCCLXXXV.

In the *Analecta Isocratea* of Keil we have the complete work, of which the doctor-dissertation of the author had only presented a specimen. The introductory part gives a brief account of the life and works of Isokrates, in which especial stress is laid on the attitude of the orator to the tragic poets of his day. A sworn foe to the later dramatists, he tried to be for his generation what the older tragic poets had been for theirs, and while appropriating some of their devices, he developed a rhythm that rivalled verse without coinciding with it, and treated themes that were on as high a level as those of the tragic Muse.

The bulk of the book is made up of references to the authors by whom passages of Isokrates have been quoted, with critical notes on the more important divergences from our MSS of Isokrates, and occasional remarks on subject matter and diction, showing close study of the orator. So we are told (p. 57)

that Isokrates always says *χάριν ἔχειν*, never *χάριν εἶδέναι*, except IV 175, where *ἔχειν* is avoided on account of a preceding *ἐπισχεῖν* and a following *μετασχοῦσιν*. To *χάριν ἀποδιδόναι*, *ἀπολαμβάνειν*, *οφείλειν*, *κομίζεσθαι*, I. has no objection. In the second chapter, entitled 'Quaestiones criticae Isocrateae,' Keil glorifies the Urbinas for having preserved the true order of the speeches, first the *demonstrativae*, then the *suasoriae*, followed by the *deliberativae* and the *iudiciariae*, IX (Euagoras) occupying the place between the *demonstrativae* and the *suasoriae*. This shows, according to Keil, the hand of an accomplished scholar, by whom the sixty orations current under the name of Isokrates in the first century were reduced to twenty-one in the second, and those twenty-one arranged according to the familiar categories given. The dropping of XVIII from the Urbinas is a mere accident.

The discussion of [I] 14 leads to an excursus on Isokrates' use of the third form of the reflexive for the first and second, and of the forms *αὐτοῦ* or *ἐαυτοῦ*. *αὐτοῦ*=*ἐμμαντοῦ* occurs V 129, and is restored to XIX 23 on the authority of Priscian. Hence we must have the third per. [I] 21 (*bis*), II 14. 24. 38, V 149, XI 47[ep. 2, 3]. Also *αὐτοῦ* [I] 14 instead of Stobaios's *ἐαυτοῦ*. Of the tragic poets Aischylos has *ἐμμαντόν* P. V. 444, *ἐμμαντήν*, v. 746; Choeph. 213: *αὐτοῦ*=*ἐμμαντοῦ*, Suppl. 770, *αὐτᾶς*=*ἐμμαντῆς*. Soph. has the third per. for the first, Ai. 1132, O. R. 138, O. C. 966, El. 275; no example in Euripides. 3d per.=2d per. in Aisch. Ag. 1095. 1251, Choeph. 104, Soph. O. C. 853, 930, Trach. 451. Eurip. in the chorus of the Alkestis 462, *αὐτῆς*=*ἐαυτῆς* (ex con. Erfurdtii). In the plural *αὐτῶν*=*ἡμῶν αὐτῶν*, Isok. XI 20; XIV 48 (ex con. Corais), Aischylos, Sept. 177, fr. 135, 4, Sophokles nowhere, Eurip. Bacch. 723, Heracl. 143. Nowhere *αὐτῶν*=*ὑμῶν αὐτῶν*. In Aristophanes *αὐτῶν*=*ἡμῶν αὐτῶν* (Av. 808) is a quotation from the Myrmidons of Aischylos (fr. 135, 4). That Isokrates regularly uses *αὐτοῦ*, and not *ἐαυτοῦ*, is an old story. In the tragic poets *αὐτοῦ* is the rule, *ἐαυτοῦ* the rare exception, and so *σεαυτοῦ* is largely outnumbered by *σαντοῦ*. In Aristophanes, on the other hand, *ἐαυτοῦ* is not so much overcrowded by *αὐτοῦ*, nor *σεαυτοῦ* by *σαντοῦ*. In the comic fragments there are 84 instances of *αὐτοῦ*, 35 of *ἐαυτοῦ*, 39 of *σαντοῦ*, 16 of *σεαυτοῦ*. It is sufficiently characteristic of the stateliness of Isokrates that he should have followed the tragic standard, rather than that of comedy, rather than of the inscriptions in which the trisyllabic forms prevail over the dissyllabic (30; 14).

Another illustration of Isokrates' leaning to tragic pomp is his use of *ν ἐφελκυστικόν* before consonants. Leaving to Maassen (Leipziger Studien IV) the statistic of epigraphic usage, Keil has collected the examples in which *ν* is needed to make position, with the following result:

	Trimeters.	ν ἐφ.	Per ct.
Aischylos	4308	112	2.6
Sophokles	7568	113	1.5
Euripides	17825	407	2.3
Aristophanes	8918	118	1.3

The comparison does not yield any tangible result, though Aischylos and Euripides approach each other here as they do elsewhere on the principle of the affinity of extremes. Maassen's observation that in inscriptions the gutturals admit the concurrence of paragogic *ν* more freely than labials, and

much more freely than dentals, is not in accordance with the results that Keil has got from the drama, in which the proportion is, dentals 44, labials 31, gutturals 25; and, in fact, we must rest satisfied with the general result that the Athenians were guided by their feeling in the matter, and now put the ν , now omitted it, until it became the fashion to put it almost everywhere. Here too Keil sees the pre-eminence of the Urbinas and upholds $\eta\nu$ rather than η ; V 8; XII 233, 231 (*ter*); XV 159; XVII 24, 42; XVIII 37; XIX 36, 37; XX 22. $\pi\rho\omega\tau\eta\delta\epsilon\upsilon\nu$ (1 per.) is wanted, XII 127; hence we are to put $\eta\delta\epsilon\upsilon\nu$ for $\eta\delta\eta$, XII 85. This enthusiastic appreciation of the Urbinas was printed prior to the appearance of Schöne's publication of the Marseilles papyrus in the *Mélanges Graux* (Paris, 1884), of which Blass has given an account in *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 1884, p. 417 ff., by which it appears that this ancient papyrus has much more in common with the Vulgate MSS than with the best, e. g. the Urbinas and the Ambrosianus. To be sure, despite the closer agreement of the Papyrus Massiliensis with the Vulgate, Blass considers it impossible to return bodily to the *Vulgata ante Bekkerum*. The readings of the Urbinas must rest on good old tradition; there was no purist equal to the task of making Isokrates more concise, difficult, artistic, and yet the Urbinas is many centuries younger than the papyrus; and if in the time of the papyrus the current texts were so seriously interpolated, how must it have been in the time of the Urbinas? It is only a question of degree, and the facts in the ad Nicoclem of the Papyrus Massiliensis show that the Urbinas has the same corruptions as the others or analogous errors. Here is the principle that Blass would formulate, if he had to edit Isokrates again: "Words that are found in Γ (Urbinas), and not in the others, are not much less suspicious by their absence in the latter than they would be if found in the Vulgate and omitted in Γ . If they are to be dispensed with, and their introduction is explicable, then they are not to be admitted into the text." The conclusion of the whole matter is that the Urbinas and the Ambrosianus have no such exclusive authority that other MSS are to be laid aside as worthless.

In an elaborate article (*Hermes*, XIX 596-648) Keil has come back to the subject and edited the fragments of the Papyrus Massiliensis. His conclusion is (p. 631): *Misella messis: unum expiscabamur granum felix, quinque quattuorve dubiosa granane an palea, cuncta cetera stramenta vilia debilia inutilia*. True, there is no older witness of the text of Isokrates than this—he puts it in the second century after Christ—but even this oldest witness is so full of faults and glosses that it does not come up to his cherished Urbinas, so far from surpassing it (p. 638). Still it has its uses, lights up the way to the correction of errors, and—which is distinctly precious—proves that Keil's theory of a common original of all the Isokratean MSS is correct.

B. L. G.

Die Charidschiten unter den ersten Omayyaden. Ein beitrage zur geschichte des ersten islamischen jahrhunderts. Inauguraldissertation zur erlangung des philosophischen Doctorgrades auf der Universität Strassburg, von RUDOLF ERNST BRÜNNOW, Cand. Phil. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1884, pp. xii, 112.

This well-written and well-printed little essay is a valuable contribution to the history of Moslem sect-life. The Moslems have been not less active in the

development of sects than the Christians, and the career of the Hārījites, of whom Dr. Brünnow treats, fairly exemplifies the principles governing the growth of such offshoots from orthodoxy, and more particularly the principles of independence and literalism. These Mohammedan Come-outers—such seems to be the meaning of the name Hārīji—began by asserting the right of the true believers to elect whomsoever they would to the position of Commander of the Faithful; in A. D. 657 they withdrew from Ali because he, by his composition with Moawiya, seemed to them to give up this principle; they chose their own Calif, lived for many years a precarious life of rapine and battle, declared all but themselves out of the pale, split into sub-sects, and worked out new forms of doctrine. They were in general inclined to attempt a reproduction of the Moslem life of the Koran and the times of the Prophet, and thus, as Dr. Brünnow points out, bear in some respects a striking resemblance to the Wahhabis of our century. Their ecclesiastical logic was mercilessly consistent, and their piety ruthlessly cruel. They differed among themselves as to certain interpretations of the Koran, but they agreed in opposition to the hated orthodoxy. After a while they fell into the general current of Moslem life, and their history becomes obscurer.

Dr. Brünnow divides his discussion into two parts, in the first of which he gives a narrative of Hārījite affairs up to the end of the first century of the Hijra, and in the second examines and estimates the authorities. His work in both divisions is entitled to praise, his narrative is clear and interesting, and his examination of the authorities, of which the principal in the Kāmil of al-Mubarrad, careful and discriminating. He endeavors by comparison of the different accounts not only to fill gaps and prune off exaggerations, but to determine the source of each tradition, and estimate the value of its author's personal equation, and thus to get at the feelings of the times, and work out a living story. This is the sort of investigation that is likely to be most fruitful, and Dr. Brünnow is to be congratulated on the success of his first attempt.

C. H. TOY.

REPORTS.

MNEMOSYNE. Vol. XII, Part 1.

This volume opens with an article by Herwerden, pp. 1-23, on L. Mendelssohn's recent edition of Herodian, the historian of the times succeeding the death of Marcus Aurelius. He says: "prodiit Romanae historiae auctor plurimis locis emendatus tam codicum ope quam coniecturis, utilissima addita praefatione et quam fieri potuit locupletissimo subiecto supellectile critico.¹ Eximio libro ab editore donatus legi atque relegi Herodianum, eiusque operae fructum qualemcumque grati simul animi testimonium egregie cordato critico nunc offero." The article, as it stands, bears the marks of this double reading; for the latter part of it, pp. 15-23, consists of "addenda" to the former, containing notes on the same books and chapters, and occasionally giving a maturer view of the same passage; e.g. "i 9, 5, καὶ πάντες ὑπώπτενον μὲν τὰ λεχθέντα, πιστεύειν δὲ οὐ προσεποιούντο. Supra conieci post ὑπώπτενον μὲν excidisse verba ἀληθῆ εἶναι, nunc re iterum considerata nescio an potius leniore manu rescribendum sit πιστεύειν δὲ οὐ(ν) προσεποιούντο hac sententia: *et quamvis omnes suspecta haberent dicta, tamen revera fidem se iis habere simulabant.* Ut enim mox sequitur, τότε καιρὸν εὐκαιρον ἔχοντες (Perennium) διαβάλλειν ἐπειρῶντο. Notissima autem est ea particulae οὖν vis, ut significet fere ὅτως." This may be taken as a sample of all these notes, which contain hardly anything of general interest. On i 11, 1, αὐτὸ μὲν τὸ ἀγαλμα δι' ἱκετὲς εἶναι λέγουσιν he writes: "fluvii Graece ad Homeri exemplum audiunt δι' ἱκετὲς, quaecumque vero e coelo cadunt aut cadere creduntur, ut lapides et signa, δι' ἱκετὲς, itaque vulgatam scripturam . . . δι' ἱκετὲς revocandum esse arbitror . . . frequens est utriusque vocabuli confusio, sed certum discrimen."

Naber next, pp. 24-43, contributes an article on Pindar. He confesses that "Pindarum quisquis studet emendare," after Boeckh and others,² runs much risk "ne cum sibilo excipiat et ex stadio facessere iubeatur . . . Nam si quis suo Marte recensere volet omnia Pindari carmina et novam parare editionem, huic opus erit poetam tanquam digitos suos nosse." His purpose is less ambitious. On reading Pindar again, in Bergk's third edition, he found that it offered "observationes et emendationes, quae mihi maxime placuerant, nam veritas incurrebat in oculos; earum magnam partem praereptam mihi vidi . . . Verum hoc ipsum audentior me reddidit, ut in medium proferrem selectas suspensiones inter legendum mihi subnatatas, quae aut satis certae esse viderentur, aut certe minime incertiores iis, quas hucusque editoribus probatas esse comperi." His first comment is on Ol. i 7, μῆδ' . . . ἀνδράσμεν. He will

¹ 'Locupletissimo subiecto supellectile critico.' There is no mistake about the ο's, and one is forced meekly to remonstrate against the bad proof-reading of the *Mnemosyne* that so often spoils the genial flow and lively polemic of its pages.—B. L. G.

² Naber has run a great risk, as it is.—B. L. G.

not admit that the verb may be subjunctive, though Herwerden has endeavored to establish such license for Pindar, and though he grants that Ol. vi 24, ὄφρα . . . βάσομεν looks that way. Since then αὐδάσομεν cannot be subj. and μηδέ forbids the future, what else can he do than make the clause precisely parallel to μηκέτ' αἰλίου σκόπει, by reading αὐδα σύ μοι? A similar fault he finds, Nem. ix 28, in ἀναβάλλομαι, for which "quod reponere volui ἀναβαλλέμεν, id Herwerdenus occupavit emendare." On Ol. iii 25 he writes: "Soloecum est quod editur δὴ τότ' ἐς γαῖαν πορεύειν θυμὸς ὤρμαιν' Ἰστροίαν νιν . . . Bergkius recte vidit πορεύειν 'pro πορεύεσθαι stare non posse: quod autem commentus est, ut ei malo mederetur, id divulgare non debent qui docti editoris manes placatos sibi esse cupiunt. Est tamen vera lectio sat facilis inventu. Cf. modo Pyth. x 28: περαίνει πρὸς ἔσχατον et videbis hic quoque reponendum esse περαίνειν." On Ol. iii 45: οὐ μιν διώξω· κενὸς εἶην, he says of L. Schmidt's rendering, 'ich werde sie nicht verfolgen: mag ich immer inhallos sein,' that "elegantissime effecit Schmidtus ut minus appareret, etiam hoc sensu particulam conditionalem abesse non posse, et periculum est interdum Germanica scribentibus et cogitantibus, quod minus magnum est iis, qui usu Latini sermonis veterum criticorum morem retinuerunt." He thinks also that μιν cannot be taken for αὐτούς, and that διώξω may be a future in Pindar, and that therefore Bergk's οὐ μὴ διώξω is not necessary. "Sed quid est κενὸς εἶην? Frustra, opinor, erimus, nisi rescripserimus οὐ μὴν διώξω κενὸς ἔμμεν. Unum certe est quod lucrabimur, nam etiam puer sine magistro hanc scripturam poterit intelligere." On Ol. vi 15 (νεκρῶν τελεσθέντων), he finds fault with Bergk for mentioning the various conjectures that have been made: "tam mirifica fuit in Bergkio diligentia ut etiam levissimas suspiciones et infelices correctiunculas undecumque conraderet . . . aperte dicam: talia mihi nauseam creant, et nisi contemnere audeas quae tam praepostere excogitata fuerunt, numquam in re critica facies operae pretium. Ille tamen est Bergkius, qui . . . queritur de Cobeti tumultuaria doctrina." Naber himself, comparing Ol. ii 15 (θέμεν ἔργων τέλος) proposes τέλος θέντων. "Combustis cadaveribus πῦρ ἐκάη καὶ φλόξ ἐμαράνθη." Again, on Ol. vi 86, ὕδωρ πίομαι . . . πλέκων . . . ὕμνον he reproves Bergk for quoting Meineke's conj. πίνομαι, and suggests himself πίνομεν . . . πλέκειν. In Ol. vii 58 he proposes ἐνριψεν for ἐνδειξεν λάχος Ἀελίου. On Ol. ix 83, σφέτερας ἀτερθε . . . δαμασιμβρότον αἰχμᾶς, it is shown that the assumed use of σφέτερος as a poss. pron. of the third person singular rests on a very slender basis of facts, and that there is still less for its use as a general possessive of any person. In the course of this discussion it is suggested that in Py. iv 98 for πολὺς γαστρός we should read ποτε Φᾶς. On Nem. ix 23, γλυκὴν νόστον ἐρεισάμενοι, he writes: "confitetur Bergkius se locum non posse expedire: more tamen suo perscribit omnia virorum doctorum tentamina . . . Sardi venales: alter altero nequior. Quanto melius fuisset, si Bergkius bonae chartae Teubnerianae pepercisset et omisisset ridiculas coniecturas, quae splendidis et utilissimis voluminibus dedecori sunt. Connivere in erroribus eorum qui ante nos fuerunt et ponere in clara luce si quid alii olim recte viderint, haec demum pietas est . . . Commendo: νόστον ἐπειγόμενοι, cf. Pyth. iv 34 et ix 73."

We have next, pp. 44-56, emendations of the ninth book of Plato's *Leges*, by the late Dr. Badham. Only one or two specimens of these notes can be quoted: 855b, ὅπως ἂν τῶν κλήρων ἀργὸς μηδεὶς μηδέποτε γίγνηται δι' ἀπορίαν χρημάτων·

"Vertit interpres, 'nequis unquam propter indigentiam pecuniarum sua sorte *privetur*.' Hoc probat Astius: 'ἀργὸς *vacuus*, *expers*.' Verte, nequa sors propter indigentiam *inculta iaceat*. Hac de causa pluries in hoc libro non modo de sorte vendunda cavet, sed videndum esse docet, ὅπως ὁ κληρὸς ἔσται κατεσκευασμένος παντελῶς." 864c, "Libri βιαίων καὶ ξυμφώνων. Veram lectionem repperit Astius ἐμφανῶν, cui infra opponitur μετὰ σκότους. Palaeographiae peritis facillima videbitur haec correctio. Quid Turicenses? 'ἀξυμφώνων nos: Conf. 863c.' Vix est operae pretium; nam nihil ibi reperies simile, praeterquam quod dixit μεγάλων καὶ ἀμούσων ἀμαρτημάτων." 872c, εἰν δέ τις δοῦλον κτείνῃ μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντα, φόβῳ δὲ μὴ μνηστῆς αἰσχυρῶν ἔργων καὶ κακῶν αὐτοῦ γίγνηται, ἢ τινος ἔνεκα ἄλλον τοιοῦτον, καθάπερ ἂν εἰ πολίτην κτείνας ὑπέχει φόνου δίκας, ὡσαύτως καὶ τοῦ τοιοῦτου δοῦλον κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ἀποθανόντος οὕτως ὑπεχέτω. "Qui δοῦλον supplevit, ne intellexit quidem φόνου post τοῦ τοιοῦτου subintelligi, nec vidit κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ad ὑπεχέτω pertinere, itaque perquam inepte ἀποθανόντος inseruit."

C. M. Francken next, pp. 57-78, continues his notes *ad Ciceronis Palimpsestos*. This article is full of interesting matter, but only a few lines can be here extracted. "Proprium huic litteraturae (*capitalem* volo) est, ut E et I vix distinguantur; non operae est dicere, quoties Kellerus qui post Peyronum Taurinensem contulit, dubium se haerere dixit, utra littera scripta esset; res pro se loquitur: obliqui ductus litterae E tam sunt minuti et exiles, ut facile oculorum aciem fugiant, unde sola residua littera primaria quasi stirpe I nascitur. *Intellegere* et *neglegere* scripserunt vulgo veteres: semel in hac oratione [Tulliana] §26 *intelligatis* extare dicitur, de quo dubito propter similitudinem illam. Contra *luci* §47 ex codice pro *luce* recipiendum puto, ubi verba de XII tabulis recitantur: 'ut furem noctu liceat occidere, et luci, si se telo defendat. Plauti certe aequales *luci* dixerunt, quem 'locativum adverbiascentem' in antiquiore XII tabularum sermone usurpatum esse consentaneum est. Non puto Ciceronem constanter *luci* dixisse, cum aliis locis in ipso T. sit *luce*, Vergilius habeat 'luce palam,' sed quod T. in eis quae sequuntur *luce*, hoc autem loco, ubi de XII tabularum verbis agitur, *luci* habet, non potest casu factum esse." In Pison. §81, 'Habet hoc virtus, quam tu ne de facie quidem nosti, ut viros fortes species eius et pulcritudo etiam in hoste posita delectet.' "Non est latinum 'in hoste *posita*' pro ante oculos posita. Nec *exposita*, nec *proposita* aptum est, sed *conspecta* (*cspecta*)."

Cobet continues, pp. 79-107, his notes on Stein's Herodotus, book IV. There is not much of general interest in this article. Very many of the alterations insisted on have already found their way into other editions, being the readings of Codex R. To take a short example: iv 62, ἀπὸ τῶν ἑκατὸν ἀνδρῶν ἀνδρα θύουσι. "Vocabulum necessarium commode supplebat Codex R: ἀνδρα ἑνα θύουσι. Erat in vetusto libro ΑΝΔΡΑΔ." This reading is given by Abicht and Blakesley. On iv 8, where Hdt. speaks of the scene of one of the labors of Hercules as being in the island of Erytheia τὴν πρὸς Γαδείροις τοῖσι ἐξω Ἑρακλέων στηλέων ἐπὶ τῷ Ὠκεανῷ, he says he will endeavor by a new argument to confirm his opinion that the so-called writings of Hecataeus are 'suppositos et ψευδεπιγράφους.' A passage is cited from Arrian, *Anab.* ii 16, in which we are assured that Hecataeus asserted that it was not from any part of Spain that

Hercules brought the cattle of Geryon, but that τῆς ἡπείρου περὶ Ἀμβρακίαν τε καὶ Ἀμφιλόχους βασιλέα γενέσθαι Γηρύονην καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἡπείρου ταύτης ἀπελάσαι Ἡρακλέα τὰς βοῦς. "Nempe si haec Herodotus apud antiquiorem historicum legisset, non omisisset hanc quoque fabulam commemorare etiamsi minus probabilem iudicasset, ut iii 9: οὗτος μὲν ὁ πιθανώτερος τῶν λόγων εἴρηται. δεῖ δὲ καὶ τὸν ἥσσον πιθανόν, ἐπεὶ γε δὴ λέγεται, ῥηθῆναι, et similia his passim scribit etiam in leviori dissensu." Occasionally Stein is commended, iv 122: οἱ Πέρσαι ἐδίωκον πρὸς ἧν τε καὶ τοῦ Ταναΐδος. "Felicissime Stein emendavit: καὶ ἸΘΥ (ἰθὺ) Ταναΐδος. Cf. iv 120: ἰθὺ Ταναΐδος ποταμοῦ. iv 136: ἐδίωκον τοὺς Πέρσας ἰθὺ τοῦ Ἰστρον, et sic passim."

The concluding pages of this part are filled with notes by Cobet on the *Varia Historia* of Aelian. xiii 9: Λάμια ἢ Ἀττική ἐταῖρα εἶπεν· οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος λέοντες ἐν Ἐφέσῳ γεγόνασιν ἀλώπεκες.; "Fieri potest ut Lamia quoque ita dixerit, sed multis ante Lamiam annis iocosus de Lacedaemoniis versiculus omnibus erat in ore: οἰκοὶ λέοντες, ἐν Ἐφέσῳ δ' ἀλώπεκες . . . Apud Plutarchum in *compar. Lysandri cum Sulla* editur cap. 3: (Lysander) εἰ δὴ τις ἄλλος ἐκπεφηνῶς τοῦτ' ὅτι περιάκτον, οἰκοὶ λέοντες, ἐν ἱπαιθρῷ δ' ἀλώπεκες. Perspicuum est emendari oportere: τοῦτ' ὅτι περιΒΟΗτον· οἰκοὶ λέοντες, ἐν ΕΦΕΣΩΙ δ' ἀλώπεκες." xiii 23: Λυκούργος . . . οὐ καλοὺς τοὺς μισθοὺς ἤμιστατο. "Nihil est ἀρνεσθαι μισθόν, *mercedem haurire*. Suspicio fuisse ἡμίστατο, ut in Pluto: κὰν ταῦτ' ἀνίσχεται τετταράκοντα βούλγεται. Graeci veteres constanter dicebant τὸν μισθὸν λαβεῖν, sed Aelianus τὰ κατημαξευμένα vitat, et ἀσυνήθη venatur." "Multa sunt apud Aelianum portentose corrupta sine ulla spe emendationis. Quale est quod legitur xiii 25 *Pindarus a Corinna victus* σὺν ἐκάλει (libri συνεκάλει) τὴν Κόρινναν. Quis haec sana esse credet? Cur Pindarus aemulam *suum appellabat*? ἐλέγχων τὴν ἀμουσίαν τῶν ἀκροατῶν,¹ inquit. Igitur illos ipsos increpare debebat, non Corinnae maledicere. Eiusdemmodi vitium obscurat locum xiii 26: ἡθίμει ὁ Διογένης καὶ φύλλων ἄκρα ἥσθιεν. Bona fide vertunt: *et summas foliorum extremitates manducabat*. Vellem huiusmodi interpretibus tales dapes apponi. Sed quis haec emendabit?" xiii 28: "Aelianus sibi perfacetus esse videtur et si quid lepide se putat dixisse suum ἵνα τι καὶ παίσω addere solet. H. l. usus est ioco sed tam frigidus quam obscuro, ut nemo quid diceret adhuc intelligere potuerit. *Diogenis servus* οὐ φέρων τὴν μετ' αὐτοῦ διατριβὴν ἀπέδρα, tum post pauca: οὗτος δὲ ὁ οἰκέτης εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀλώμενος ὑπὸ κυνῶν διεσπάσθη, perspicua haec sunt sed continuo addit:

¹ As if the ἀμουσία τῶν ἀκροατῶν were not shown by the bestowal of the prize on a δῆς! Korinna was a δῆς, a Βωωτία δῆς—as we should say a 'Wolverine,' a 'Sucker,' a 'Hoosier,' and spoke the language of the Σύες or Ὑάντες to the Ὑάντες. To the familiar charm of this Hyantian dialect she owed in part her success; acc. to Pausanias, 9, 22, 3: φαίνεται δὲ μοι νικῆσαι τῆς διαλέκτου τε ἕνεκα ὅτι ἦδεν οὐ τῇ φωνῇ τῇ Δωρίδι, ὥσπερ ὁ Πίνδαρος, ἀλλὰ ὅποια συνήθειν ἑμὲλλον Διολεῖς κτέ. The Greeks were wretched punsters, thanks to the phonetic perfection of their language, and this miserable little joke has given modern scholars more trouble than Aelian is worth. Wilamowitz-Möllendorff discredits the story, which very few credit, in his own peculiar way—Homerische Untersuchungen, p. 321: Die dumme fabel von ihrem [K.'s] verkehrte und ihrer concurrenz beruht einmal auf dem gedichte an Myrtis, zum andern auf Pindars bekannten versen auf die δῆς Βωιωτοί [cf. fr. IV 9] d. h. den zum spott gewandten Hyantennamen. Dumm nenne ich die fabel, nicht weil Pindar keine dame schwein hätte nennen mögen; ich bezweifle, ob er sehr galant war; wol aber weil sie einen agón einmischte, also etwas specifisch attisches. Pindars poesie zeigt, dass seine gesellschaft diese demokratische institution nicht kannte (?)—B. L. G.

τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ δεσπότου δίκας ἐκτίσας ἀνθ' ὧν ἀπέδρα. Multum se torquet Perizonius neque proficit hilum. Diogenes κίων appellabatur, et sic dicitur servus infidelis discerptus a *canibus* poenas *Canis* dedisse . . . Dabo simillimum iocum ex Diogene Laertio vi 51: Diogenes ἀκούσας ποτὲ ὅτι Διδύμων ὁ μοιχὸς συνελήφθη, "Ἀξίος, ἔφη, ἐκ τοῦ ὀνόματος κρέμασθαι," et ex Demetrio περὶ Ἑρμηνείας §186: Ἀλεξάνδρον βουλευομένον δρόμον ἀγωνίσασθαι Ὀλυμπίᾳσιν ἔφη τις οὕτως, "Ἀλέξανδρε, δράμε σον τῆς μητρὸς τὸ ὄνομα" . . . Compara etiam Herodotum vii 180: τῷ δὲ σφαγιασθέντι τοῦτ' οὖνομα ἦν Λέων· τάχα δ' ἂν τι καὶ τοῦ οὐνόματος ἐπαύρουτο." xiii 31: ἀφῆκε τὸν ὄρνιν ἐπειπὼν ὅτι μὴ ἐξέδωκε τὸν ἰκέτην. "Possuntne vitiosius quam sic *oû* et *μή* inter se confundi?"

C. D. MORRIS.

HERMES. 1884. I.

Mommsen, Die Conscriptionsordnung der Römischen Kaiserzeit. There are four distinct components of the standing army: *legiones*, *auxilia*, *alae*, *classiarii*. To these we may add the *praetoriani** or bodyguard. The *auxilia* of the imperial era fairly correspond to the *socii* of the republic. The conscription, however, was very unequal. Where the population was particularly well suited for military service, as *e. g.* in the country of the Batavi, the levies were very heavy, but they were correspondingly light in a district of an opposite character, *e. g.* Egypt. In the Augustan age Italy furnished legionaries, but Vespasian confined the service of the Itali to drafting them for the praetorian guard. The legionaries when drafted, as a rule, are either *cives* or attain that rank through their service. This practice really began in the great struggles preceding the end of the republic, and Augustus found himself unable to suspend or materially modify it. While free birth (*natum esse ex ingenuo*) was a requisite, many *libertini* were ranged in the legions by privilege. Hadrian seems to have been the author of local conscription. Of course some provinces, as Upper and Lower Germania, did not provide enough material for the standing armies required for their maintenance. While, formally, there were no legions of the first and second rank, the oriental legions, as a matter of fact, were of poorer stuff than the occidental. The soldiers of the *auxilia* generally are quoted as being from a tribe, nationality, or clan rather than from a municipality, *domo* or *civis* being added to the simple ethnical nominative or ablative. The *classiarii*, as a rule, appear as the direct personal servants of the emperor, their social caste being lower than that of other branches of the service. Septimius Severus, the *princeps* of the purely military emperors, went one step beyond Vespasian: he excluded the Italians even from service in the praetorian guard, the bulk of it being henceforth levied from Illyria, Africa, Syria. It is well known¹ that Augustus, in organizing the empire in the years after Actium, divided the provinces into imperial and senatorial provinces. As a rule no *auxilia* at all were levied in the senatorial provinces, while on the other hand these furnished a relatively full body of legionaries. As regards the political

¹ In 27 B. C., Dio Cassius, 52, 12. Imperial provinces: Hispania Tarraconensis, Lusitania, the several provinces of Gaul, of "Germany," Coele Syria, Phoenicia, Cilicia, Egypt. Senatorial: Africa, Numidia, Achaia with Epirus, Dalmatia, Macedon, Sicily, Crete with Cyrenaica, Bithynia, Pontus, Sardinia, Hispania, Baetica. Later on Narbonensis and Cyprus were committed to the senate, while Dalmatia was transferred to the imperial list.—E. G. S.

status of the soldiery, Mommsen (pp. 62 sqq.) endeavors to show: (1) That the community from which a praetorian or legionary was drafted may have been either one of Roman citizenship or of the Latin (=Peregrine) order of political condition; (2) that it must, however, have been a municipality; and (3) that every district from which *auxilia* were drafted enjoyed the *Ius Latinum* or *Peregrinum*; (4) that the native place of every soldier serving in a Latin or Peregrine corps possessed *Ius Latinum* or *Peregrinum*.

Th. Thalheim (Die Antidosis) replies to the article on the same subject by M. Fränkel published in *Hermes*, 1883, III, and reported in this *Journal* (v. p. 389). Thalheim insists, and in our judgment successfully maintains, that however absurd the whole device of Antidosis may appear to us, actual exchange of property was provided for. Thalheim's explanation of Lys. 24, 9, and of Dem. 21, 79, appears to be sound.

E. Maass, of Berlin, prints what are practically prolegomena to a proposed edition of Aratus: "De Phaenomenis Arati recensendis," giving a history of the literary tradition of this author's work. The characteristic taste of the Romans is once more evinced by the fact that not less than three Latin translations of Aratus were prepared, viz., by Cicero, by Germanicus (nephew of Tiberius), and in the fourth century A. D. by Avienus. Maass considers as the best MS the Marcianus 476, of Venice, written in the latter part of the eleventh century A. D. As next in rank he esteems the Vaticanus 1307. "Praeter eos quos dixi Arati codices (p. 95) undetriginta inde ab saeculo tertio decimo usque ad quintum decimum exarati feruntur ex quibus viginti sex aut contuli integros aut quantum satis videretur examinavi."

De Boor, "Zu den Excerptensammlungen des Constantin Porphyrogenetus." This emperor (10 century A. D.) caused to be prepared a collection of extracts from historical writers. Besides these there are met with certain brief notices or abstracts which seem to have served as directions for the copyist. Of these abstracts some seem to have drifted from their proper place. De Boor's discussion is in part directed against Nissen.

B. Keil, *Bemerkungen zur Reconstruction des Philonischen Skeuothek*. Another contribution to the literature of this inexhaustible theme. For the inscription see A. J. P. III, p. 317.

II.

K. I. Neumann, *Die Fahrt des Patrokles auf dem Kaspischen Meer und der alte Lauf des Oxus*. Herodotus was the first ancient author to assert that the Caspian was a separate basin; still he confounded the Armenian stream Araxes with the Oxus river. Later, however, Patrocles, a general of Seleucus, circumnavigated the Caspian. Eratosthenes derived data from him, and in turn furnished material for statements on this subject by Pliny and Strabo. The enumeration of distances (*σταδιασμός*) is of course due to Patrocles, whose work was done in the earlier part of the third century B. C. Neumann proves that Patrocles did *not* make out the Balkan bay as the point where the Oxus in its ancient course entered the Caspian, but mistook for the mouth of the Oxus the narrow straits connecting the bay of Karabughaz with the main body of the Caspian. Patrocles, moreover, believed that the Iaxartes river

(which, in fact, always did flow into lake Aral) flowed into the Caspian likewise; he put down the mouth of the Iaxartes about 2400 stadia north of that of the Oxus, being misled by the average distance between the Oxus and Iaxartes in their upper course. It is evident, Neumann infers, that Patrocles did not reach any point 2400 stadia to the north of Karabughaz bay, else he would have seen for himself that no river flowed into the Caspian there. It is worth while to recall with Neumann some of the curious results which Alexander's exploits had upon the geographical views of that age. Aristotle had still maintained the existence of the Caspian as a definite and separate basin. But Alexander, through the expedition of Nearchus down the Indus river into the Persian gulf, had realized that the *mare Erythraeum* was a portion of the open ocean: hence was suggested the hypothesis that the Caspian too was merely a gulf of the ocean. The voyage of Patrocles was made before 281 B. C.

Seeck, *Die Inschrift des Caecionius Rufus Albinus*. This inscription is preserved in a codex of Einsiedeln in a very fragmentary condition. In it the Senate of Rome decrees a statue to Caecionius because Constantine at the instance of Caecionius had restored to the senate certain powers, but it is not evident from the fragment what the powers were. Seeck now argues that it was the privilege of nominating praetors and quaestors, and makes it very probable that the right referred to could not have been the nomination of consuls.

Wissowa (Breslau) describes and explains the MSS containing the abstracts of the Epic Cycle contained in the Cod. Venetus A of the Iliad. Incidentally (p. 206) the statement is made that the Iliupersis of Lesches was no separate work, but merely a portion of the Ilias Minor of that writer.

Mommsen continues his paper on "Die Conscriptionsordnung der Römischen Kaiserzeit," discussing (§V) the stations and headquarters of the *auxilia* in relation to their home. It seems to have been the general plan of the administration down to Vespasian's time to station the *auxilia* in the province in which they were levied. Mutiny and insurrections, however, caused removals and exchanges in particular instances, e. g. on the lower Rhine after the revolt of Civilis. Vespasian stationed the German *auxilia* elsewhere after the suppression of that great revolt. The Britain *auxilia* were *never* stationed in Britain. The Pannonian *auxilia* were removed from that province after the great revolt in the declining years of Augustus. The garrisons of Judaea were principally of native conscription, which was not the least cause of the disastrous Jewish revolt of 70 A. D. In 86 A. D. the troops in Judaea are found to be Thracians, Lusitanians, Cantabri, Gaetuli. The *Numeri* were extra bodies and detachments, not ranged in legion, ala or cohort, their size being quite uneven (300-900). *Nationes* is a kindred term. *Cuneus* was the name given to special bodies of cavalry in the latter part of the imperial era.

A. Haebler (Leipzig) argues against B. Niese that Strabo did *not* write his geography at Rome; at least he proves that Strabo's use of *ἐνθάδε* (VII, c. 290), and *δεῦρο* (XIII, c. 609) when speaking of Rome is not conclusive. He calls attention to the looseness of Strabo in handling these adverbs elsewhere; and it would seem indeed that Strabo uses them freely, not of the location of the

speaking first person, but as determinatives referring to the locality last mentioned.

Kaibel, *Sententiarum Liber Tertius*, a series of critical notes on Pindar (Pyth. 12, 12 sqq.; Olymp. 2, 75), Homer (Hymn. Apoll. Del. 83 sqq.); here we meet the set form of an oath which Kaibel declares to be interpolated from Il. O 36. Further notes are made on passages in Aeschylus' Prometheus, Sophocles' Electra, Euripides' Medea, a few fragments in Athenaeus, etc.

Maass reports on the Codex Lipsiensis of the scholia to the Iliad, finding that it is entirely without value of its own, and that in the catalogue of ships it is simply a copy from the famous Venetus. Maass conjectures that the MS was prepared in one of the monasteries on Mt. Athos. The date of the MS is the fifteenth century.

U. Wilcken, "Aus Griechischen Papyrus-Urkunden," discusses customs of writing figures and transcribing accounts, dates and values.

Robert, "Der Bildhauer Polycles und seine Sippe." These artists lived in the third and second centuries before Christ. Incidentally R. treats it as settled that Pausanias in his Attica followed Polemon, the author of an Attilis.

E. G. SIHLER.

ARCHIV FÜR LATEINISCHE LEXIKOGRAPHIE UND GRAMMATIK. Erster Jahrgang. Heft 4.

The first article, "De linguae Latinae verbis inchoativis," by Karl Sittl, occupies pp. 465-533. The fate of inchoative forms in the Romance languages is touched upon, and it is shown that the French and Spanish have largely added to their number. In Latin the discussion begins with verbs like *glisco*, *gnosco*, *vescor*, etc., of which no simpler form is found. In *paciscor* it is claimed that the *i* was added to prevent confusion with *pacor*. In some verbs the *sc* had become so closely attached to the root that it passed into derivatives, as e. g. *pasc-unus* and *pas(c)-tus*. So *posco* = *po(re)-sco* forms for its perfect not *poporci* but *poposci*. In inchoatives, however, where a vowel is interposed, the root being more readily discerned, such formations do not occur. Inchoatives from verbs of the fourth conjugation are treated next, and are shown to be very ancient and to have wholly lost their inceptive force. Of *erisco* no primitive is found. *Nanciscor* may belong to this class, although *nancio* cited by Priscian from C. Gracchus may have been a verb like *facio*. Inchoatives from verbs of the second conjugation are extremely numerous, and groups are given under the head of the several prepositions with which they enter into composition, *con-*, *de-*, *ex-*, *in-*, *ob-*, *per-*, *re-*, *dis-*. There are very few compounded with *ab-* or *ad-*, and only comparatively late writers use inceptives beginning with *inter-*, *prae-*, and *super-*. There are some few examples of a double preposition, as *coadolesco*, *perextimesco*. Inchoatives of this sort with no preposition entering into composition, like *calesco*, *aresco*, are in the early period comparatively rare, but afterwards increase. In the third century and later a good many such are formed, as *caresco*, *dolesco*, *floresco*. Inceptives which seem to be formed directly from adjectives, like *celebresco*, occur before Cicero only in the tragic poets and Sisenna. Afterwards they are

common enough. Inceptives formed from substantives are probably due to some false analogy. Such are *noctesco*, *auresco*, *silvesco*, but from the first century A. D. their number increases, cf. *radicesco*, *gemmesco*, etc. From the third conjugation, only compounds make inceptives in the early period, as *resipisco*, *proficiscor*, but Lucretius and subsequent writers form inchoatives from simple verbs, e. g. *vivisco*. Inchoatives in *-asco* found in early poets, like *amasco*, *hiasco*, *labasco*, are next discussed. In later writers many of these show forms in *-esco*, while the termination *-asco* is appropriated for verbs derived from substantives, as *roborasco*; and even here the form in *-esco* occasionally crept in, as e. g. *vesperescit*. As to the signification, in many verbs where the simple is lost, the termination cannot be perceived to have any effect on the meaning, and the forms *escit* and *escunt*, as they occur in the Laws of the Twelve Tables, seem after all to be simply fuller and more impressive forms of the substantive verb. Often in prose an inceptive is chosen for its greater length, to give balance to clauses, cf. Cic. Tusc. 4, 37, *nec tabescat molestiis nec frangatur dolore*; and the best writers seem to make no attempt to distinguish carefully between simple and inchoative verbs. When Caesar says, "*Cum maturescere frumenta inciperent*," there is a pleonasm in his words, if the formative suffix has its full meaning. Sittl, in fact, contends that the truly inchoative force is only seen in verbs uncompounded with a preposition, derived from verbs of the second conjugation.

The second part of the discussion treats of inchoative verbs which govern an accusative. It is maintained that the suffix originally indicated the beginning of a passive state, and not of action, and that consequently such verbs ought to be intransitive. They come, however, after the analogy of other verbs, to take the accusative. So Calvus said "*perpetuos requiescere cursus*," and Vergil imitated him in Ec. VIII 4. Interesting examples of *suesco* and its compounds with the accusative are given, of *obliviscor*, and *vescor*, fluctuating between the accusative and ablative. As *horreo*, *paveo*, *tremo*, and *gemo* were not followed by the accusative before the age of Cicero, their inceptives were not so used. Subsequently *horresco*, *expavesco*, *ingemisco*, *contremisco* take the accusative not infrequently. With *erubesco* the accusative became a favorite construction.

The third part of the paper is given to the settlement of the question when and how inceptives came to have a causative value. *Suesco* and its compounds seem to be the first verbs thus used,—passages are cited from Titinius, Varro, Lucretius, Horace, Columella, Tacitus, Florus, and other writers,—but down to the beginning of the fourth century no other inceptives become causative. The sixth century shows a great many inceptives thus used, especially in African Latin. The article closes with an examination of some inceptives found in glossaries, and with an alphabetical index of all the inchoatives discussed. Some idea of the fulness of treatment, of which we have only been able to give a faint outline, may be had from the fact that this list contains upwards of 600 verbs.

Rudolf Schöhl proves conclusively that *ampla* in the sense of *ansa*, which heretofore had only been established for writers of the second half of the fourth century, must be read in Cicero in Verr. II 25, 60, "*Iste amplam calumniae nactus*." It cannot of course be derived from *ansa*, and Schöhl connects it with the root *am*, seen in *ἀμν*, *ἀμῖς*, etc., the *p* being purely phonetic, as in *exemplum*.

Gröber, pp. 539-557, continues his list of "Vulgärlateinische Substrate romanischer Wörter" from *caccabus* to *cürbus*. It is interesting to observe that evidence from the Romance languages confirms the orthography *caecus*, *caenum*, *caelum*, *cepa* (not *caepa*). In many words, too, light is thrown upon the quantity of vowels coming before two consonants. Max Bonnet, p. 557, admits the existence of an infinitive *totondi*—found in the Passio S. Joannis evangelistae ante portam Latinam, "*iussit eum expoliari et flagellari crinesque capitis totondi*." The spelling *forsitam* is shown to have been very common in later antiquity and the beginning of the middle ages. Georg Goetz examines the evidence of Latin glossaries on the words *abactor*, *abigeus*, *abacus*, *abaddir*, and shows in an interesting way how several apparently quite distinct glosses must often be treated as one gloss, while very little independent weight attaches to the glosses of Osbern and Papias. *Anxia*, which Gröber, on p. 242, had shown to be the basis of Ital., Span., Port. *ansia*, O. French *ainse*, *aisse*, is defended as subst. in Orest. Trag. 559, where the editors change to *angor* or *angina*. A second specimen of the Thesaurus prepared by Hauler is given, pp. 564-571, including only the words *aaha*, *abalienatio* and *abalienare*. Wölflin adds some ten pages of Addenda and Corrigenda to the first volume of the Archiv, and Karl Sittl in a note establishes the reading *stomida* for *tumicla* in Apuleius, Met. 8, 25. *Stomis* occurs in Lucilius, Sat. 15, 17, and in both passages the explanation offered by Nonius applies, namely, "*ferrum quod ad cohibendam equorum tenaciam naribus vel morsui imponitur ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος*."

In the 'Miscellen' Jordan gives some valuable lexical notes to Cato, pointing out some new words, and others the first use of which has hitherto been credited to Varro, Cicero, Livy, Vergil, Horace, Seneca, Petronius, or Pliny. He rightly claims that often it is of importance to know how early a word was employed in a language. J. Piechotta shows that *monubilis* with the force of monolith is to be identified with *μονόβολος*; and that *turunda* is probably an odd case of metathesis for *rutunda*, like *lapidicina* for *lapicidina*. Other notes discuss *soracum* = Gr. *σώρακος*; *seimitus* = *dimidius* in an African inscription recently discovered; *besta* as a vulgar form for *bestia*; the use of *ferae* and *pecudes*; the derivation of *malva*, *maltha*, *malvatus*, and their connection with French *mauvais*; *ἐνοστρος* in the sense of purple (Nonius, 133, 12, in a fragment of Atta); *strambus*, vulgar form for *strabus*; and *admissum*, a neuter substantive for *admissura*. pp. 594-607 are given up to reviews.

M. WARREN.

BRIEF MENTION.

Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum, edita curante CAROLO SCHENKL. Leipzig, Freytag.

M. Tulli Ciceronis Orationes Selectae, ed. H. Nohl. Vol. II. In Q. Caecilium Divinatio.

In C. Verrem Accusationis, Lib. IV, V. 80 pf.

C. Sallusti Crispi Bellum Iugurthinum, rec. A. Scheindler. 50 pf.

Bellum Catilinae, rec. A. Scheindler. 35 pf.

T. Livi ab Urbe condita. Pars III, Libri XXI-XXV, ed. A. Zingerle. 1m. 20 pf.

Cornelii Taciti. Vol. I. Libros ab excessu Divi Augusti continens, rec. I. Müller. 1m. 50 pf.

P. Ovidi Nasonis Carmina. Vol. III. Fasti, Tristium Libri, Ibis, Epistulae ex Ponto, Halieutica Fragmenta, ed. O. Güthling. 2m.

We have already (Vol. V, pp. 255 and 278) called the attention of the readers of the Journal to this New Classical Series, which is being published very rapidly, so rapidly in fact that it is impossible to give any notice in detail of each volume. The list given above of books received by us includes only a part of those already issued. It will be seen that they are exceedingly cheap, and they are at the same time very well printed. It is to be regretted that a more uniform plan has not been followed in the various authors. The editor of Cicero, for example, gives a clear account of the principal MSS of the Accusatio and their relation to each other. The important variants are then given at the bottom of each page, as is the case in the edition of Livy, by Zingerle, who shows a thorough acquaintance with all the recent Livian literature. In the Ovid the variants and emendations are given all together before the text, and are therefore likely to receive much less attention. In the Sallust, which is accompanied by a good chronological table, no mention is made of the MSS and no variants are given, except that in the preface all the readings are noted which differ from the edition of Jordan. In the edition of the Annals, great care has been taken to assign emendations to their first authors, in which respect it will be found to be an improvement on Halm. The series as a whole can certainly be commended to teachers who wish their pupils to be provided with a cheap and carefully edited text.

M. W.

The edition of *Hesiod*, by RZACH, in the Schenkl Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum (Leipzig, G. Freytag, 1884) is noteworthy. The editor is well equipped for his work by special studies in Hesiod and in the post-Homeric hexameter, and has the advantage of a new collation of the Laurentianus (M) of the Theogony and the Ambrosianus (A) of the Shield, besides Flach's entire collation of the Codex Messianus, and that of seven Vienna MSS of the Works and Days by the editor himself. To these are added the Fragments and the Contest of Homer and Hesiod. The critical notes are not only important in themselves but highly instructive. An every way attractive and useful edition.

CORRESPONDENCE.

[Professor Ellis has sent for publication a letter from the late H. A. J. Munro which will be read with peculiar interest by the admirers of the illustrious Latinist, whose death classical philology has so much reason to deplore.—B. L. G.]

TRINITY COLLEGE, October 17, 1884.

My dear Ellis:

Many thanks for your second paper on 'Maximianus,'¹ which I have read through with interest, and congratulate you on the care and ability with which you have treated your subject. Possibly with more study it might excite my interest more strongly than it does: I have only read your paper and have not studied the continuous context. I am therefore little able to criticise efficiently your able and learned paper, and it is not unlikely my remarks may be beside the mark.

I 27, 8: Would not *melos* (*cantus* being the genitive) make even a simpler construction and sense than *melo*?

p. 2: is 'emender' (for 'emendator,' 'corrector,' 'amender') good English?

As Σωκράτης, by the times of Maximianus, had in *pronunciation* through all its cases as long a penult as was possible, the accent remaining the same in all cases alike, I should not hesitate at *Socrātem*. Sidonius Apoll. twice ends a hendecasyllable with *Euripides*.

I 113: In comparatively early times there seems to have been a curious confusion between *condicio* and *condictio*. Would that throw any light on the prosody?

p. 3, I 157: As the writer evidently has in mind Aen. II 726, *Et me quem dudum non ulla iniecta movebant Tela*, is it not quite possible that the true reading is *Et me quem dudum non ulla adversa*, etc.? *Non ulla* was corrupted to *nulla*, then the line completed in different ways.

I 177, 8: As soon as I read this passage, the following occurred to me: *vestesque decorae*, Byssina; *iamque ipsum vivere turpe seni*. Byssina (*uissina*) would easily pass into the MS reading.

I 219: Your reading is simple and probably right. At the same time it strikes me as odd that so simple a word as *rursus* should pass into *prorsus*. Is the right reading possibly '*Iique tripes prorsus*'? 'And he, the three-footed, now moves forwards on four feet.'

I 233: As 'expendere poenas (scelus, etc.)' is common in Virgil, did Maxim. perhaps write '*varias prodest expendere poenas*'?

I 259: As *viscera* means all the flesh and substance of a man between the skin and the bones, I should have thought it had a good sense here: 'all the substance of our nature dissolves away.'

IV 54: 'non voluisse' seems to me to give a very good sense: 'Because I have want of power, it is not my fault to have shown want of will.'

These remarks are all that occurred to me on reading your paper last night. I congratulate you on your learned paper.

Thank you for your note on my 'Translations.' Several others have pitched on the same piece as you have for commendation. I have been generally complimented on the simplicity and elegance of the exterior of the book. That was entirely my own doing, as I had some difficulty in getting the Press to come into my notions of elegance.

Most sincerely yours,

H. A. J. MUNRO.

Sir:—I am anxious to correct the impression which is likely to be created by the notice published in your Journal (V 516) concerning my 'Griechisches Schriftsystem,' and which may perhaps influence most of those who take an interest in similar matters on the other side of the Atlantic.

Your contributor concludes his semi-laudatory and semi-ironical notice by saying: 'We endeavored to represent, by means of this new alphabet, the sentence *πᾶσα δόσις ἀγαθὴ κτέ.*, but we stuck in the syllable *σις*, not knowing how to repeat a consonant twice on the same vowel-stem, and so came to the conclusion that it was easier to invent short-hand or to re-invent it than to write in it.'

May I be allowed to retort by remarking, that at all events it is still easier to criticise a short-hand system than to invent or even to re-invent it? To speak seriously: if this criticism were well founded, if the Athenian system, which I have discovered and attempted to reconstruct, had not provided for so simple and common an occurrence as the rendering of the syllable *σις*, the inventor or the re-inventor would have done poor work indeed. But the fact is that Mr. Rendel Harris has only to look to p. 34 of my pamphlet in order to find the longed-for solution of his perplexities. The words *δόσις ἀγαθὴ* might be written either *δό-σι-σα-γα-θη* or *δό-σι-ς ἀ-γα-θη*. In the latter case the vowelless consonant *σ* would (according to my conjecture) have to be expressed by the consonant-carrier carrying the sign for *σ*, and provided, moreover, with what I have called a *Schwä* or *Virāma* (a sign meant to deprive the consonant-carrier of the vocalic value otherwise inherent in it).

As to the remainder of Mr. Harris' remarks, it is not for me to pronounce on their justice and appropriateness. Whether my conclusions are fairly legitimate deductions or gratuitous suppositions, whether the part played in my attempt by reconstructive imagination is or is not what it must be according to the requirements of the case; finally, whether I have or have not been sober and careful enough in discriminating between the demonstrable and the conjectural part of my results (cp. p. 17), on all these points my readers and critics will have to decide. Let me remark that the verdict of European criticism (as far as it has come under my notice) has in all these respects been far more favorable to me than in a matter so novel and so intrinsically doubtful I could reasonably expect. (Cp. *Revue Critique*, 1884, No. 50; *Deutsche Literat. Zeit.*, 1884, No. 46; *Liter. Centralblatt*, 1884, Dec. 8, etc., etc.)

I have the honor to be, Sir, your obedient servant,

Vienna, April 15th, 1885.

TH. GOMPERZ.

In line 20, we might italicise the word 'conjecture'; in line 33, the same process might be applied to the words 'so novel and so intrinsically doubtful.'—J. R. H.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

Thanks are due to Messrs. B. Westermann & Co., New York, for material furnished.

AMERICAN.

Aristophanes. *The Clouds*. Edited on the basis of Kock's edition by M. W. Humphreys. (College series of Greek authors.) Boston, *Ginn, Heath & Co.*, 1885. 12mo, iii + 252 pp. pap., \$1.00.

Bryans (Clement). Latin prose exercises, based upon Cæsar's Gallic War. (Clarendon press series.) New York, *Macmillan*, 1884. 16mo, 121 pp. cl., net, 60 cts.

Cicero (Marcus Tullius). *Academica*; text revised and explained by Ja. S. Reid. New York, *Macmillan*, 1885. 8vo, x + 369 pp. cl., net, \$3.75.

— *De Amicitia* (On Friendship); also *Scipio's Dream*. Transl., with an introduction and notes by Andrew P. Peabody. Boston, *Little, Brown & Co.* 12mo, 91 pp. cloth, 75 cts.

Englmann's Latin Grammar; tr. and ed. by A. Schneider. Cincinnati, *Anton Bicker*, 1885. 8vo, 425 pp. hf. leath., \$1.50.

Gaillard (J. D.) *French Orthoëpy*. New York, *Appleton*, 1884. 12mo. cl., 75 cts.

Grammar of the Cakchiquel language of Guatemala. Philadelphia, *McCalla & Stadely*, 1884. 8vo, 72 pp. map. bds., \$1.00.

Herodotus. The sixth and seventh books of Herodotus; with a life of explanatory Herodotus, an epitome of his history, a summary of the dialect, and notes, by A. C. Merriam. (Harper's classical series.) *Harper*. 12mo. \$1.50.

Pindar. The Olympian and Pythian Odes. With an introductory essay, notes, and indexes. By Basil L. Gildersleeve. (Harper's classical series.) *Harper*. 12mo, cxv + 395 pp. \$1.50.

Tacitus (Caius Cornelius). *Annalium*, lib. I-IV; ed., with introduction and notes for use of schools and junior students, by H. Furneaux. (Clarendon press series.) New York, *Macmillan*, 1885. 16mo, 400 pp. cl., net, \$1.25.

Thieme-Preusser. A New and Complete Critical Dictionary of the English and German Languages, English-German and German-English. New York, *B. Westermann*. 8vo, 1416 pp. half roan, \$4.75.

Timayenis (T. T.) Greece in the Times of Homer. An account of the life, customs, and habits of the Greeks during the Homeric period. New York, *D. Appleton & Co.* 16mo, 302 pp. cloth, \$1.50.

Viotor (Wilhelm). German Pronunciation; Practice and Theory. New York, *B. Westermann & Co.* 16mo, 123 pp. cloth, 80 cts.; paper, 55 cts.

Xenophon Atheniensis. *Anabasis*: books III and IV; with the modern Greek version of Prof. Michael Constantinides, ed., with prefatory note, by R. C. Jebb. New York, *Macmillan*, 1885. 16mo, 157 pp. cl., net, \$1.25.

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Æschylus' Choephoroi. With Introduction and Notes by A. Sidgwick. 12mo, 168 pp. *Frowde*. 3s.

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Avesta. Die heil. Bücher der Parsen, im Auftrag der kaiserl. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, hrsg. v. Karl F. Geldner. I. Yasna. 1 Lfg. Imp.-4, 80 S. m. 1 Lichtdr.-Taf. Stuttgart, *Kohlhammer*. m. 8.

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Beiträge zur historischen Syntax der griechischen Sprache. Hrsg. v. M.

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